Cervantes's La entretenida
Translation, Performance and a Digital Edition

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Cervantes's *La entretenida*: Translation, Performance and a Digital Edition

by

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ABSTRACT

The results of the research are presented in two forms—a digital edition of the play, viewable at http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/index.html, and this written submission. Chapter 1 focuses on the quasi-improvisational quality of *La entretenida*, exploring connections with Plautus, the rhetorical tradition, the *commedia dell'arte*, jazz, storytelling, and metatheatre. Chapter 2 challenges the widely held view that *La entretenida* is a parody of the *comedia nueva*, and looks at the way in which Cervantes engaged with dramatic theory, and in particular with the principle of *decorum*. Chapter 3 shows how the play reflects Cervantes's tendency to view life through literature, relating this aspect of his writing to the role of memory in Early Modern culture, while Chapter 4 demonstrates how this metaliterary quality becomes a means whereby Cervantes explores social issues. Chapter 5 examines the circumstances surrounding the publication of *Ocho comedias*, revealing an interesting connection with the second part of *Don Quijote*, and arguing that Cervantes had a highly ambivalent attitude to print. Chapters 6 and 7 investigate the process of production, with particular reference to the punctuation of the published volume. Chapter 8 presents the rationale for the digital edition, which, because of its special advantages in generating different views of the text and navigating between them, can facilitate engagement with the text from a number of different perspectives and reflect the web-like nature of Cervantes's writings. Chapters 9 and 10 describe the multidimensional approach that was adopted in the process of translating and performing the play, which involved extensive preparatory work with a group of actors. Interrogation of the text through translation and performance was able to inform, as well as be informed by, its scholarly investigation.

CONTENTS

IV. Translating and Performing *La entretenida*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, DIAGRAMS, TABLES AND CHARTS

PREFACE

The seeds of this thesis were sown during the sixties, during which time my father's work as a travel agent meant that we enjoyed the luxury of holidays abroad. On those trips he would always arm himself with a phrase book and attempt to speak the language of the country he was visiting. I distinctly remember, as a boy, watching him from afar, nodding his head vigorously as a Spaniard, speaking at full throttle, responded to his enquiry about train times. When he returned, we asked what the man had said. 'I don't know', laughed my father. Example is better than precept, according to the proverb, which was certainly true where my father's often unsuccessful attempts to speak and understand a foreign language were concerned. The lesson I learned was that it was important to make the effort, even if communication was not always successful.

Many years later, in 1999, I was invited to teach on a jazz summer school in Murcia. At the time I had only a little tourist Spanish, but my father's influence meant that I resisted the temptation to use an interpreter. That experience led to a growing interest in Spanish language and culture, and eventually I started to read *Don Quijote* in the original. John Rutherford, whose translation was at my side, was a third companion, together with the knight and Sancho, on that epic journey through La Mancha. During that time I first met Catherine Boyle and was offered a place as an MA student at King's. The circumstances of my life meant that I had to defer acceptance, but I nevertheless continued my journey with the *Quijote.* By the time I had completed it I was completely under the spell of Cervantes, so the 2004 Royal Shakespeare Company Golden Age season, which included one of his plays, naturally attracted my interest. I spent several days in Stratford, re-establishing contact with Catherine and meeting for the first time, in the various events and workshops that took place, several Hispanists who have since become mentors and colleagues, including Jonathan Thacker, David Johnston, Victor Dixon, Susan Fischer and Kathleen Jeffs.

The experience of the RSC season was an inspirational one that led to my finally enrolling as an MA student at King's, where Catherine Boyle's *Acts of Translation* course was an important influence, giving me my first opportunity at translating Cervantes, and laying the foundation for the work contained in this thesis. Kathleen Jeffs, at the time a PhD student at Oxford, showed enough faith in me to ask me to

complete my translation of *El viejo celoso*, and the resultant script, *The Jealous Old Man,* was one of three interludes that were performed at the 2006 Edinburgh Festival. Encouraged by that success, I turned my attention to the full-length play that is at the centre of this research project, *La entretenida*, an edited version of which was performed in a staged reading at King's in May 2007. I need to thank many people who made that reading possible: the Department of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies and the Cultural Office of the Spanish Embassy, especially Juan Mazarredo, for their backing; the group of actors—Benedikte Faulkner, Hollie Garrett, Lesley Kennedy, and Anna Skye—who did so much valuable preparatory work with the script; the remainder of the cast—Michael Baker, Marie Bonnenfant, David Butler, Marion Cadier, Nick Goodchild, Daniel Kelly, Paul Tosio, Huw Thomas, Harry Warman and especially David McGrath—for giving their time so generously and for their creative input; and Alan Read for helping to provide a performance space.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Simon Mahoney, a key player in the evolution of my research, whose course at King's, *Digital Tools for Research and Teaching*, not only made me realize the possibilities that a digital edition could offer, but was also a major influence on the way I carried out my research. The digital part of the project has involved collaboration with many people at the Department of Digital Humanities at King's. Firstly I must thank Paul Spence, the Project Coordinator, for the faith he has shown in my work and for his patience, support and encouragement. Elena Pierazzo initiated me into the mysteries of XML and the even darker arts of XSLT, providing me with first-class technical training and support. Charlotte Tupman, who became involved in the project at a relatively late stage, has played a crucial role in helping to bring it to completion. I am also heavily indebted to Bea Caballero, Paul Vetch, José Miguel Monteiro Viera and Raffaele Viglianti for the many hours of work they have devoted to the project. Regarding the website, I would also like to thank the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford for their permission to use the images of their first edition of *Ocho comedias*, and especially Gaye Morgan, Assistant Librarian and Conservator, for her kind assistance.

I have been fortunate to have the advice and support of a wonderful supervision team. Catherine Boyle has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement since I first enrolled at King's in 2004, while Julian Weiss's wisdom and expertise in matters Medieval and Early Modern has been crucial in helping me to develop my

ideas. I must also thank Trevor Dadson for his advice about book production in Early Modern Spain.

This research is nested within a larger digital project on Spanish and Latin American theatre in translation, Out of the Wings (http://www.outofthewings.org/), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to whom I am very grateful for providing the support for this research. I would also like to thank my colleagues in Out of the Wings for making me feel so welcome within the project.

Finally I would like to mention those close to me. Richard Rowland has been the dearest of friends, as well as a mentor in all things Early Modern. It was he who told me about Plautus, *The Wire* and many other things besides. He also, together with Tony Herbert, provided many moments of comic relief, and a forum for creative writing, as we exchanged emails about the trials and tribulations of our football team, West Ham. I began by referring to the way in which my father acted as a role model. I should also mention the influence of my mother, who taught me to read, and who was forever looking up words in the dictionary. She would no doubt have been impressed by the number of specialist reference works that I have acquired during my studies. Thank you also to my brother Robert, my sister Caroline, and my daughter Sophie for their unswerving support and to Alison, my partner in the tango and in life, whose patience, understanding and love during the last two years has seen me through the difficult days and helped me over the finishing line.

It has been humbling experience to write this thesis. Cervantes is, of course, the most cryptic of writers. If I were asked what he were trying to say, I might therefore be tempted, like my father, to laugh and respond ‘I don’t know’. Trying to find out has, however, been an adventure.

DECLARATION

The website http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/index.html, which forms one part of this research project, is the result of collaboration with a team from the Department of Digital Humanities at King's College (DDH), led by Paul Spence. Preliminary analysis of the text was carried out by John O'Neill, according to guidelines laid down by Paul Spence. The main part of the content of the site, namely the edited views of the Spanish text, the notes, the translation, and the various contextual pages was provided by John O'Neill. Encoding of the text in XML was carried out by John O'Neill, with training and guidance provided initially by Elena Pierazzo and, in the final stages of the project, by Charlotte Tupman. The output specification for the website was created by John O'Neill, with the guidance of Paul Spence and Elena Pierazzo. Transformation of the XML according to that specification was exclusively the work of DDH and involved the following people: Bea Caballero (Interface Development), Paul Vetch (Website Advisor), José Miguel Monteiro Viera (Programming) and Raffaele Viglianti (Web Development).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Works by Cervantes

BA (1998a), *Los baños de Argel* & *El rufián dichoso,* ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

CC (1997), *El gallardo español* and *La casa de los celos*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

DQ (2004a), *Don Quijote*, ed. Instituto Cervantes, dir. Rico (unless otherwise stated). References are to part, chapter and page, e.g '*DQ* I. 5: 76-79'.

DIV (2012) *The Diversion*, trans. O'Neill.

EN (1982), *Entremeses*, ed. Spadaccini.

GA (1999a), *La Galatea*, ed. López Estrada & López García-Berdoy. References are to book and page, e.g '*GA* III: 352-53'.

GE (1997), *El gallardo español* & *La casa de los celos*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

GS (1998b), *La gran sultana* & *El laberinto de amor*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

LA (1998b), *La gran sultana* & *El laberinto de amor*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

LE (1998c), *La entretenida* & *Pedro de Urdemalas*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

NE (2005b), *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. García López (unless otherwise stated).

OC (1615b), *Ocho comedias*. The copy referred to is nn.7.3, from the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford, unless otherwise stated.

PS (2002b), *Persiles y Sigismunda*, ed. Muñoz. References are to book, chapter and page, e.g. '*PS* III. 10: 526'.

PU (1998c), *La entretenida* & *Pedro de Urdemalas*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

RD (1998a), *Los baños de Argel* & *El rufián dichoso*, ed. Sevilla Arroyo & Rey Hazas.

VP (1983), *Viaje del Parnaso*, ed. García. References are to chapter (where applicable), page and line, e.g. '*VP* I: 217, ll. 25-27'.

Other Literary works

AN	Lope de Vega, *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, in Rozas (1976), pp. 181-94.[1]

Works of reference

Aut	Real Academia Española (1726), *Diccionario de Autoridades*. References are to original volume, page number and column, e.g. '*Aut* IV: 400b'.
Brewer	*Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1999).
Corr	Correas (1967), *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, ed. Louis Combet.
Collins	*Collins Spanish Dictionary* (2009).
Cov	Covarrubias (1943), *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, ed. Riquer.
CORDE	Real Academia Española, *Banco de datos*: *Corpus diacrónico del español.*
GEC	*Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina* (2005-14)
Lex	Hernández, José Luis Alonso (1976), *Léxico del marginalismo del siglo de oro.*
MM	Moliner, María (2007), *Diccionario de uso del español*.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://www.oed.com/>.
RAE	Real Academia Española (2001), *Diccionario de la lengua española*.

[1] Also available as an online publication (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2003) <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=9712> [accessed March 10 2012].

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

All quotations respect the spelling, punctuation and accentuation of the primary source, with the following exceptions: the long *s* (*ſ*) has been regularized, and abbreviations silently expanded (e.g. ‘tāto’ becomes ‘tanto’). Quotations of primary source material in secondary sources have, where possible, been checked in the primary source, corrected where necessary, and adjusted according to the aforementioned criteria.

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 62 of the second part of *Don Quijote*, the hero and Sancho, on an informal stroll through the streets of Barcelona, come across a print-shop. Once inside, Don Quixote enters into a conversation with the translator of an Italian book entitled *Le bagatelle*—spelled as 'bagatele', its Spanish homophone, in the first edition. Having asked how he has chosen to translate the Italian word for cooking pot, *pignatta*—spelled 'piñata'—and received the answer 'olla', Don Quixote then appears to mock the translator's skills by pretending to be impressed by the words he has found to represent Italian words that would have been known to any educated Spaniard:

> —¡Cuerpo de tal —dijo don Quijote—, y qué adelante está vuesa merced en el toscano idioma! Yo apostaré una buena apuesta que adonde diga en el toscano *piache*, dice vuesa merced en el castellano 'place', y adonde diga *più* dice 'más', y el *su* declara con 'arriba' y el *giù* con 'abajo'. (*DQ* II. 62: 1249)

Whether the decision to hispanicize the words *bagatele*, *pignatta* and *piace* was one taken by Cervantes or by the printing house, the phonetic transcription touches on an important theme in Cervantes's writings, which is the tension between the written word and the spoken word.

Don Quixote goes on to damn the work of the translator with faint praise:

> Me parece que el traducir de una lengua en otra, como no sea de las reinas de las lenguas, griega y latina, es como quien mira los tapices flamencos por el revés, que aunque se veen las figuras, son llenas de hilos que las escurecen y no se veen con la lisura y tez de la haz; y el traducir de lenguas fáciles ni arguye ingenio ni elocución, como no le arguye el que traslada ni el que copia un papel de otro papel. Y no por esto quiero inferir que no sea loable este ejercicio del traducir, porque en otras cosas peores se podría ocupar el hombre y que menos provecho le trujesen. (*DQ* II. 62: 1249)

The image of the warp side of the tapestry to evoke the work of the translator has been taken to represent Cervantes's own views.[1] We should, however, be cautious about assuming that to be the case, for, with characteristic irony, Cervantes has borrowed the

[1] See, for example, Archer (2008).

image from a translation, of Horace's *Ars poetica* by Zapata, and since that translation is from Latin and not one of the 'lenguas fáciles' to which Don Quixote refers so disparagingly, it would appear that the knight's use of the metaphor is singularly inappropriate.[2] Moreover, the preceding conversation has already shown that Don Quixote himself has a somewhat warped view of the translation process. Translation, as Cervantes knows full well, is much more than a matter of finding literal equivalents for simple expressions, taken out of context, so the knight's words, designed to mock the translator, are themselves cast in an ironic light. That irony is heightened by the fact that the very book inhabited by Don Quixote, who is by now metafictionally aware of his own celebrity, has been presented to the reader, since Chapter 9 of the first part, as a translation, by a 'morisco aljamiado', of an Arabic text written by the historian Cide Hamete Benengeli, which is found by chance in a street in Alcaná de Toledo (*DQ* I. 9: 118-19). The story breaks off at the end of the previous chapter, in the middle of Don Quixote's battle with a Basque squire, with the following disclaimer: 'Pero está el daño de todo esto que en este punto y término deja pendiente el autor desta historia esta batalla, disculpándose que no halló mas escrito destas hazañas de don Quijote, de las que deja referidas' (*DQ* I. 8: 113). Bearing in mind the lowly status of the *moriscos* in Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in particular their reputation for untrustworthiness, Cervantes's choice of translator seems to invite the reader to view what he produces with suspicion, but he nevertheless implies that without translation there is no story, and that his readers would be left in suspense, with the swords of Don Quixote and his adversary held aloft.

In 1615, at the time of publication of the second part of *Don Quijote*, and of *Ocho comedias*, Cervantes is, like his protagonist, aware of his own celebrity. Francisco Márquez Torres, in a fascinating *aprobación* that precedes the second part of the *Quijote*, compares him favourably with other writers, in the following terms: 'Bien diferente han sentido de los escritos de Miguel Cervantes así nuestra nación como las estrañas, pues como a milagro desean ver el autor de libros que con general aplauso, así por su decoro y decencia como por la suavidad y blandura de sus discursos, han recebido España, Francia, Italia, Alemania y Flandes' (*DQ* II: 669). Cervantes's fame,

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[2] Zapata's translation was published in 1591. His version of the metaphor is as follows: 'son los libros traducidos tapiceria del revés, que está allí la trama, la materia y las formas, colores y figuras, como madera y piedras por labrar, faltas de lustre y de pulimento'. Cited by Marín (Cervantes 1948: vol. 8, p. 156, n.).

like that of his hero, has initially been created by the medium of print, the first part having gone through 10 editions by 1610, in Madrid, Lisbon, Valencia, Brussels and Milan. That fame has then spread further because of translation into other languages. Shelton's English translation of *Don Quijote* appeared in 1612, while Oudin's French version was published in 1614. Indeed, Cervantes's translation into English was to turn him into a significant influence not only on the development of the English novel, but also on Early Modern English theatre. The Stationer's Register of 1653 has a record of '*The History of Cardenio*, by Mr Fletcher and Shakespeare', a play, since lost, that was performed by the King's Men in 1613 (Crystal 2005: 7), and that is by no means the only example of an Early Modern English play inspired by Cervantes's prose fiction.[3]

Covarrubias's contemporary definition of the term 'trasladar', as Chartier points out (2007: 36), reminds us that the word translate can also mean to copy: 'Vale algunas vezes interpretar alguna escritura de una lengua en otra, y también vale copiar' (*Cov*: 975a, l. 49). It is therefore completely appropriate that the translator should be found in the print-shop, a site of translation where what the author has written, itself the result of a translation from his imagination to the page, is rendered in another form. The process begins with the copying of the writer's autograph by an amanuensis, in order to produce an *original*, which is then edited and eventually copied through the medium of print. Both linguistic translation and translation into print are thus modes of *representation*, which is one of the central themes of this episode. Don Quixote's meeting with the translator is just one of several encounters that occur there, for, when Cervantes's characters enter that real working environment, fiction meets reality, and the *art* of writing collides with the *business* of writing. Cervantes describes not only all the significant operations that take place in order to produce the physical object of the book —the operation of the press (*tirar*), editing of the copy (*corregir*), typesetting (*componer*), and correction of proofs (*enmendar*)—but also, in the conversation of the knight with the translator, reveals that authors were caught between a rock and a hard place in attempting to profit financially from their work (*DQ* II. 62: 1247-50). The choice was a stark one: either publish at one's own cost and end up with hundreds of unwanted copies, or strike a deal with a bookseller and get paid a pittance. The business of printing could also lead to *mis*representation and a consequential damage to one's reputation, as we are reminded by a further encounter in the printing house, this time

[3] For other examples see Darby (2009).

with overtones that are metaliterary as well as metafictional, between the authentic *Don Quijote*, represented by its fictional hero, and Avellaneda's apocryphal version, represented by the hard copies which are in the process of being proofed. The passage in the print-shop is thus the vanishing point of the novel, where a number of different lines of perspective converge.

The printing house in question has been identified as that of Sebastián de Cormellas, in Barcelona, since the first edition of Avellaneda's *Quijote* was probably printed there (Chartier 2007: 38-9). However, it is equally possible that the description of the premises, and the operations taking place there, were based on Cervantes's knowledge of a place with which he was more familiar: the business run by Francisca Medina, the 'viuda de Alonso Martín', which was just a short walk from where he was living at the time, particularly since it was there that the volume of plays entitled *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, nunca representados* was produced, while the second part of the *Quijote* was still in preparation (see Chapter 5, p. 110).

The possibility of a connection between these two works, hidden beneath the surface of Chapter 62, is particularly appropriate in the context of this research, based around *La entretenida*, the last but one of the full-length plays contained in *Ocho comedias,* because many of the encounters described above, and the issues that arise from them, particularly those that have a bearing on modes of representation of a text, are highly relevant to the work that has been carried out. Spoken word and written (or printed) word; source text and translated text; life and literature; the practice of creative writing and the socio-economic factors that affect it: these are the key themes. Of central importance here has been the act of translation, not only in its narrower, linguistic sense, but also in two important wider senses of the word: devising a performance language and seeking new ways of representing the text using the encoding languages of digital technology. Translation of the Spanish into English, which began several years ago, was a point of entry into the text, the beginning of a process of interrogation that has involved the first known performance of the play in English, at King's College London in May 2007, and scholarly research in the fields of textual criticism, bibliography and digital humanities. At the heart of the project, therefore, is a methodology that involves viewing the text from a number of different perspectives, underpinned by the idea that these various approaches exist in a complementary and mutually beneficial relationship to each other.

The results of the research are presented in two forms—the written thesis, submitted here, and a digital edition of the play, which can be seen at http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/index.html. Given the wide-ranging nature of the project, the scholarly and cultural context for each area of research will be introduced chapter by chapter. The written thesis is in four sections, the first of which proposes a new interpretation of the play, one that highlights, in different ways, Cervantes's fascination with the relationship between life and literature. Chapter 1 focuses on the subversive, quasi-improvisational quality of *La entretenida*, exploring its connections with Plautus, the rhetorical tradition, the *commedia dell'arte* and jazz music, linking it to storytelling in Cervantes's life and work, and examining the way in which it relates to metatheatre in the play. Chapter 2 challenges the widely held view that *La entretenida* is a parody of the *comedia nueva* and, by comparing the ways in which Cervantes and Lope engaged with dramatic theory, seeks to establish what the two writers may have had in common, as well as what divided them. Of particular interest here is the way in which Cervantes engaged with the theory of decorum, which was aimed at ensuring a work's verisimilitude. Chapter 3 looks at the way in which the play reflects Cervantes's tendency to view life through literature. This feature of his writing, it is suggested, is linked to the role of memory in Early Modern culture and, in particular, to the technique of commonplacing, and is a principal means whereby he connects with his readers. Chapter 4 attempts to show how this metaliterary aspect of his writing is related to the portrayal of society in *La entretenida*: how, for example, the referencing of the wily slaves of Roman comedy allows him to view society from the underneath, or what might be termed 'the warp side', and how the fact that the play self-consciously does not end in marriage can be understood as a social comment as well as a reference to contemporary theatrical conventions.

The second section of the thesis presents the results of research into the printing of *Ocho comedias*. Chapter 5 begins by investigating the circumstances of its publication, and its connection with the second part of *Don Quijote*, and goes on to argue that Cervantes had a highly ambivalent attitude to print. Chapters 6 and 7 attempt to build on important recent scholarship on the printed book in Early Modern Spain through a thorough investigation of the process of production of *Ocho comedias*. Of special interest here, particularly with reference to the digital edition of the text, is the extent to

which the punctuation of the published volume is representative of Cervantes's own intentions.

The third part of the written submission (Chapter 8) presents the rationale for the digital edition of the play. Here it is argued that this kind of edition, because of its special advantages in generating different views of the text and navigating between them, can not only facilitate engagement with the text from a number of different perspectives, in accordance with the methodology of the project, but can also reflect the web-like nature of Cervantes's writings.

The final part of the thesis (Chapters 9 and 10) describes the process of translating and performing the play. That process was enriched by preparatory readings of the first draft of the translation with a group of actors, which demonstrated the crucial importance of the multidimensional approach described above, for the interrogation of the text through translation and performance was able to inform, as well as be informed by, its scholarly investigation.

I

INTERPRETING *LA ENTRETENIDA*

1

The Art of the Improviser

> El principio todo es mío,
> pero no lo fue el progreso (*LE*: ll. 2504-05)

In the sleeve-notes to his long-playing record *The Trip* alto saxophonist Art Pepper explains the background to the naming of the title track:

> I wrote *The Trip* in 1963 when I was in San Quentin. Whenever guys would gather like on the weekends, in the yard, in your cell, or wherever they might be, any time a group of guys would get together, one guy would invariably say to another guy "Hey, Louie, take us on a trip." […] If he felt like taking you on a trip he would, and you'd get to the point where you would always do it because you could pass time and relive experiences that way. So you'd start telling about some experience that you had […] or something in your past life that was interesting.
>
> And the guys became great storytellers because of this. Everyone in the joint, practically, at the drop of a hat could just talk and talk and talk, for hours—and they're all listening. You'd look at the guys in there, like one guy might have his eyes closed, and another guy's just staring off into space, and they're just living the whole thing with you.
>
> […] I realised that these conversational trips, storytelling trips, were like playing jazz. The person with the most experience and the most knowledge of words, the person who could paint the best word picture, was the best storyteller, and it's the same with music.[1]

Pepper's anecdote reminds us how, when people are thrown together in situations where there is little to occupy them beyond the passing of time, they tell stories. His memories of San Quentin also link storytelling with improvisation, with captivity and with the idea of a trip or journey.[2] The fact that one of the most naturally gifted musicians in the history of jazz spent nine of the thirteen years between 1953 and 1966 in prison for narcotics-related offences also underlines the often uneasy relationship of

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[1] Art Pepper, sleeve notes to *The Trip* (Contemporary Records, S7638 [LP], 1977).

[2] Art Pepper was not the first jazz musician to make a connection between improvisation and storytelling. The tenor saxophone player Lester Young thought that a jazz solo should 'tell a story', and always learned the lyrics of songs that he played, even though he only ever performed them instrumentally (Hentoff 1991: 162).

the improviser with society. On the one hand improvisation can be a form of artistic activity that can generate mass appeal, as exemplified by the success of the *commedia dell'arte* or of the swing bands of Benny Goodman. On the other hand it is intrinsically a subversive form of cultural activity, unscripted and therefore impossible to censor or police, the essence of which is a constant process of deconstruction and reconstruction that does not result in a material object that can be owned. The *commedia dell'arte*, for example, has been identified by Arboleda (1991: 22) as a medium of dissent, liable to comment on socio-political problems. Moreover, as the sad example of Art Pepper illustrates, the antisocial, itinerant lifestyle that is associated with improvisation often results in patterns of behaviour that can lead its practitioners to fall foul of the law. Alberto Naseli, more familiarly known by his stage-name of Zan Ganassa, leader of the *commedia dell'arte* troupe whose great success in Spain was instrumental in the building of the *corrales*, enjoyed Phillip II's hospitality in two contrasting ways: by being granted a royal license to perform on two working days a week as well as on public holidays, and by being detained at His Majesty's pleasure in Madrid in February 1582 (Shergold 1956: 361).

At first glance Cervantes would seem to be separated from Art Pepper by a wide gulf in both time and culture, but there are, in fact, interesting parallels between their lives. Cervantes certainly had a uneasy relationship with authority, having had to flee Spain in his early twenties under the threat of having a hand cut off for duelling. He also experienced captivity, during five years spent as a hostage in Algiers and later, in two shorter spells of imprisonment, when he was accused of financial irregularities while working as a commissary and tax collector. He travelled widely for a man of his time, in Italy and elsewhere in the Mediterranean during over four years of military service, and later in Andalucia during a period of over ten years spent as a civil servant, when he observed at first hand the resourceful improvisers of the criminal underworld who would later inspire the creation of characters such as Pedro de Urdemalas. These experiences account for more than half of his adult life and most of the formative years before the publication, in 1585, of *Galatea,* his first novel. A common factor in the periods he spent as a soldier, captive and government employee was the extraordinary variety of people he would have met, from different countries and social backgrounds, and the stories he would have both heard and told as a means of passing time—time

spent waiting for action, time in prison or time on the road, staying in grubby inns, with a motley crew of fellow travellers for company:

> En su calidad de comisario Cervantes tuvo que viajar por parte de España y visitar las más alejadas aldeas y se puso en contacto íntimo con el pueblo. […] Tuvo que hacer noche en ventas ruines e incómodas, en las que paraban toda suerte de caminantes, desde el noble señor y la dama principal, hasta el tramposo titiritero o el más vil castrador de puercos. (Riquer 2003: 66)

These experiences are reflected throughout his writing. As Riley puts it, 'no one can have failed to notice the readiness of Cervantine characters to tell and to listen to tales' (1962: 84). This kind of storytelling is linked with travelling in two ways: firstly because, as in Art Pepper's memory of his 'trips' in San Quentin, each story represents an imaginative journey out of the here and now into another time and place, and secondly because actual journeys bring new encounters and experiences that call for stories to be told and retold. As the narrator of *Persiles* reminds us: 'Las peregrinaciones largas siempre traen consigo diversos acontecimientos, y, como la diversidad se compone de cosas diferentes, es forzoso que los casos lo sean' (*PS* III. 10: 526). Reflecting this link between storytelling and travelling, the stories that we hear in Cervantes's work are accompanied by frequent and often dramatic changes of scene, between places that he either knew from his own experience or had travelled to imaginatively. The *Ocho comedias* take us on a journey from Oran to the forest of the Ardennes, Algiers, Sevilla, Mexico, Constantinople, Northern Italy and Madrid. *Persiles* transports us to regions as remote from each other as Iceland, the Indies, North Africa, and Poland, while the action of the *Novelas* takes place in Cyprus, England, Algiers, Italy, Flanders and France, as well as several different regions of Spain.

Despite the advent of the printing press Early Modern Spain was still primarily an oral culture, as Margit Frenk (1982) has shown. Even when books were available, they would frequently be read aloud, either to a group of listeners or by individuals reading alone. Consequently many Golden Age authors wrote with the knowledge that the written word would be converted into sound (Frenk 1997: 51). The strength of this oral tradition is clearly felt throughout Cervantes's work, and particularly in *Don Quijote* and *Persiles*, where the written narrative so frequently reports an oral narrative, as a

procession of different characters tell their stories.[3] 'Cervantès a puisé d'abondance aux sources de la tradition orale pour tenter de recréer, entre le narrateur et le lecteur une relation comparable à celle qui unit le conteur et son auditoire' (Moner 1989: 140).[4] Improvisation is one of the essential qualities of such storytelling, as Cervantes frequently reminds us. One of the best examples is Periandro's story, which spreads over eleven chapters of the second book of *Persiles* (II. 10-20: 340-419). The meandering quality of his narrative often attracts the criticism of his audience, and, after describing an encounter with a sea-monster that turns out to be a dream, even he has to admit that his digressions are out of place. Sometimes the verisimilitude of the events he relates is questionable, as when he describes surviving a jump from a cliff-top on horseback. By including the critical interpolations of the audience in the narrative and even calling into question its veracity, Cervantes creates the impression that what we are hearing—and hearing, not reading, is the appropriate word—is an unedited story told in real time—a live performance.

As both Niall Slater (1982: 13) and Jane Freeman (2003: 247) have pointed out, the word improvisation in the context of a written narrative or script may seem to be an oxymoron, since improvisation is, by definition, unscripted. When I refer to improvisation in Cervantes I am referring, like those two critics, to the *illusion* of improvisation that is created through the script or narrative. The effect on the reader or listener of this scripted improvisation can be identical to the real thing: one is left with a sense of the script or narrative being controlled by the characters rather than by the author. However, while acknowledging that Cervantes constructs an illusion of extemporisation, one also needs to bear in mind that the impression of spontaneity created by genuine improvisation is itself illusory, since most improvisers are dependent on a reservoir of prepared material, on scripts, or fragments of scripts, that they carry in their memories.

It is not surprising that this improvisational quality shines through in Cervantes's work, because he was writing in an age when improvisation was of central importance,

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[3] Similar observations have been made about *Galatea*: 'At the level of story, interweaving of narrative strands depends on the random encounters typical of Greek romance, on overhearing of voices singing in the woods, and on so much peeping and eavesdropping that one critic calls this pastoral a world of "staring onlookers [*mirones*]" ' (Gaylord 2002: 104).

[4] 'Cervantes draws extensively on oral tradition in order to attempt to recreate, between the writer and the reader, a relationship comparable to the one that connects the storyteller and his audience.' (My translation). Cited (translated into Spanish) by Frenk (1997: 22).

in music, dance, theatre and rhetoric.[5] Indeed, we witness it expressed in these different art-forms in Cervantes's work, for example in the improvised song of Lope Asturiano in *La ilustre fregona,* or in the ornamentations that the barber adds to his dance in the interlude of *La entretenida*, which attract Torrente's disapproval:

TORRENTE Tampoco a mí me contentan
esas vueltas ni floreos:
que se requiebran bailando,
pues son requiebros los quiebros. (*LE*: ll. 2253-56)

There was, moreover, cross-fertilisation between these different modes of improvised expression, for example in the influence of the rhetorical canon of *memoria* on *commedia dell'arte* actors who, according to Robert Henke, used 'not merely general approaches but specific techniques' of rhetoric in their improvisations (2002: 41). In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the most popular manual of instruction during the Renaissance, *memoria* is described as 'the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by invention' (*thesaurum inventorum*) ([Cicero] 1954: 204-5). It was thus explicitly linked to *inventio*, another of the five canons, which was concerned not only with the creation but also with the finding or discovery of material. *Memoria* was therefore part of the creative process and, as Carruthers shows (1990: 33-35 & 210), can be thought of as a storehouse or reservoir of material that could be drawn upon for improvisation, seen as an essential quality of good oratory. For *commedia dell'arte* actors the reservoir of prepared material included commonplace books and their own *generici*, in which they would organize speeches appropriate to a particular character or situation (Henke 2002: 44). The early seventeenth century actor Nicoló Barbieri describes how 'the actors study and arm their memory with a great farrago of things, like proverbs, conceits, love speeches, reproaches, desperations, in order to have them ready for the occasion, and their study matches the behaviour of the persons whom they represent'.[6] Those words might equally well describe the *modus operandi* of Don Quixote, who has the ability to

[5] The art of rhetoric, derived from classical texts such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, was a central part of the humanist educational curriculum, and taught students to be able to produce both spoken and written compositions. However, the two canons of rhetoric that were arguably most relevant to theatrical improvisation, *memoria* and *pronuntatio*, were given less prominence and sometimes suppressed altogether (Moss 1999: 149-51).

[6] *La suplica discorso famigliare a quelli che trattano de'comici* ed. Ferdinando Taviani (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1971), p. 23. Cited by Henke (2002: 43)

instantly transform himself into a host of different characters in order to adapt to the changing circumstances that he encounters on his travels. Indeed, it is his ability to do so that largely creates and sustains the fiction, both the one that he is living and the one that the reader experiences. That improvisational skill was also noted by Riley: 'Don Quixote must improvise to meet the situations life offers him, without departing from the conventions laid down by his chivalresque model; and he creates, in part at least, the story of which he is the hero' (1962: 38). Thus, having been badly beaten after an encounter with some silk merchants, the knight at first imagines himself as Valdovinos, a character from the Spanish chivalric ballad tradition, but upon being discovered by his neighbour, the farmer Pedro Alonso, he transforms himself in his imagination into Abindarraéz, a Muslim ballad hero (*DQ* I. 5: 76-79). Just like the *commedia dell'arte* actors, Don Quixote's improvisations are founded on his reading. He is able to quote the precise words that Abindarraéz speaks, just as they appear in Montemayor's *Diana*. That book escapes burning in the scrutinization of the contents of the knight's library that takes place in the following chapter, but is heavily censored. However, since the books are backed up in Don Quixotes's memory, censorship of the physical objects is like shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted. Don Quixote may be a bibliophile himself, and the protagonist of the book that we read, but he also occupies a space of orality, beyond the control of the censor. That is what makes him, like all improvisers, dangerous.

When Cervantes arrived in Rome in 1569 the *commedia dell'arte* was at the height of its popularity, as a result of the activities of troupes led by the great actors Flaminia and Vincenza Armani and the Gelosi company (Richards 1990: 61 and Andrews 1993: 169). It would be surprising if Cervantes, who, in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias*, expresses nostalgia for the kind of impromptu theatre popularized by Lope de Rueda, did not find an opportunity to witness a performance of a new style of dramatic entertainment that was taking Europe by storm, either during the five years he spent travelling around Italy, or when he returned to Spain in the 1580's, during which time the company of Zan Ganassa was touring Spain (Shergold 1956: 359-61). His contemporary Lope de Vega certainly did, since witnesses at his trial for libel during 1587 and 1588 referred to his attending of performances by 'los italianos' (Thacker 2007: 4). One can only imagine the impact of Cervantes's first experience of improvised theatre. In particular, he must have been struck by the lifelike quality of the *commedia*

dell'arte: the sense of witnessing something being created before his eyes, scenarios subject to unexpected twists and turns, and a level of interaction with the audience that at times appeared to dissolve the boundaries between reception and performance. Those qualities are also to be found in *La entretenida,* as I hope to show.

The scenarios of the *commedia dell'arte* were based on conventions established by the *commedia erudita*, which mainly took its plots from Roman models, and in particular the comedies of Plautus (Andrews 1993: 171). We have already seen how *arte* actors used the techniques of rhetoric, so as we come to examine the source of the improvisational quality that can be felt in *La entretenida*, we need to bear in mind that the influences of the *commedia dell'arte*, Plautus and classical rhetoric are themselves interrelated. They should not therefore be thought of as working separately from each other, but synergically. In *La entretenida* the effect of that synergy can be felt in the plot, in its metatheatrical and quasi-improvisational quality, in the knockabout physical humour, in some of the dialogic structure, and in the imitation of literary models, which in this play include Boccaccio, *Celestina*, the burlesque sonnet and the *comedia nueva* as well as Roman comedy.

Plautus was a great influence on Early Modern theatre, in particular comedy, and his plays were a rich source of material for playwrights throughout Europe. Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, for example, was based on *Mostelaria*, while the plot of *La entretenida*, which revolves around a confidence trick of assumed identity and a confusion over two characters with the same name, was, as Canavaggio has noted (1977: 116), influenced by the same two plays of Plautus, *Menaechmi* and *Amphitryo*, which were the main sources for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. In Spain the impact of the Roman playwright can be detected in *Celestina* and in sixteenth-century dramatists such as Torres Naharro, Timoneda and Lope de Rueda, as well as in the *comedia nueva.* As Grismer, the author of the only general study on the subject, shows (1944: 31-50), the scope of Plautus's influence extends far beyond the provision of good story lines, and can be felt in stock characters such as the *gracioso*, a descendant of the wily slave, in dramatic devices such as asides, eavesdropping, and addressing the audience, and in comic devices such as humorous names (like Ocaña in *La entretenida*), and servants who are either perpetually hungry (Torrente), or constantly fearful of a

beating (Muñoz), or prone to abuse each other (Ocaña and Torrente).[7] The metatheatrical and quasi-improvisatory elements of Plautine comedy were also powerful influences on Early Modern drama, influences that are apparent in *La entretenida* in the way that Cervantes creates the illusion of improvisation during the play.

Little is known of the life of Titus Maccius Plautus before he became the world's first professional playwright, but it seems certain that he was an actor, probably in the Atellan farce, a style of improvised theatre involving stock characters, akin to the *commedia dell'arte*. When he began to write plays he was able to convey the spirit of improvisation in his scripts, principally by introducing into his comedies wily slave characters that have been described by Niall Slater (1985: 13) as 'improvisational playwrights', who seem to be writing an impromptu script from within the play, and thereby controlling the action. Slater points out that the improvisational ability of such characters is central to their power: 'While other characters usually remain trapped in the stock roles to which the plot functions assign them, the clever slaves have the self-transformational power of the *versipellis* ('skin-changer') (1985: 16). This quality of adaptability, as Thomas R. Hart explains (1990: 195), was greatly admired in the later part of the Renaissance, by which time the ideal of flexibility in the sense of 'man's freedom to choose his destiny and shape himself into an ideal being', or 'vertical flexibility', had given way to 'an ideal of lateral resourcefulness, the ability to adapt oneself to changing circumstances, in the belief, or the hope, that, in Machiavelli's words, "se si mutasse con li tempi e con le cose, non si mutarebbe fortuna" '.[8]

The following extract from a monologue by the slave Pseudolus, from the play of the same name, provides a good example of a skin-changer in action. Pseudolus is trying to think of a way to get the two thousand drachmas that Calidorus needs in order to pay off the pimp Ballio and thus free Phoenicium, the girl he loves:

> As for having a ghost of a definite plan, let alone money – no, I don't know what I'm going to do. No, Pseudolus, you haven't a clue, which end to start weaving or where to finish off. Well, after all, when a poet sits down to write, he has to start by looking for

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[7] Ocaña's name is a reference to the fierce 'tigre de Hircania', an ironic illusion for a character who, in spite of all his bluster, is actually reluctant to get into a fight. Cervantes makes the pun more explicit in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*: '—¡No le abra vuesa merced, señor Monopodio, no le abra a ese marinero de Tarpeya, a ese tigre de Ocaña!'(*NE*: 201). See also pp. 57-58.

[8] 'If one is prepared to change with the times and circumstances fortune may not be so changeable.' (My translation)

> something which doesn't exist on this earth, and somehow or other he finds it; he makes a fiction look very much like a fact. That's what I'll do; I'll be a poet; I'll invent two thousand drachmas, which at present don't exist anywhere on this earth. (Plautus 1965: 233)

By comparing himself with a poet Pseudolus makes it clear that he is a rival playwright within the play. Moreover, he declares that part of both the poet's task, and of his task as an improvising playwright within the play, is to blur the boundary line between fact and fiction, which is precisely what Cervantes succeeds in doing in *La entretenida*.

Cervantes takes Plautus's technique one step further, creating rival improvising playwrights who appear to be either unaware of each other's intentions or at loggerheads, and who are therefore noticeably less successful than their Plautine counterparts. One of these playwrights is the elderly servant Muñoz, who devises a plan to help the poor student Cardenio gain access to his mistress Marcela de Almendárez: Cardenio will impersonate Marcela's wealthy Peruvian cousin Don Silvestre and Muñoz will provide a list of convincing 'props', such as talking parrots and strings of pearls, which the student will need to have with him in order to make the scam seem more convincing. Once Muñoz has left the stage Cardenio's half-starved *capigorrón* Torrente casts doubt on the scheme, asking his master where they are going to obtain such exotic and expensive items. When we next see these three characters on stage together it becomes clear that Cardenio and Torrente have improvised a variation on Muñoz's scenario: they are still trying to pass themselves off as Don Silvestre and his servant but, in order to explain their impoverished state, are now pretending they have been shipwrecked, and that they are on a pilgrimage to give thanks for having been saved. Muñoz's reaction, on seeing them dressed as pilgrims, reveals the extent to which they have departed from the script:

> MUÑOZ ¡Válgate el diablo! ¿Qué disfraz es éste?
> Esto no puse yo en la lista. (*LE*: ll. 826-27)

Torrente describes the shipwreck to Marcela's brother Don Antonio, but gets carried away by his own rhetoric, adding unnecessary details and nearly talking himself into trouble in the process:

TORRENTE En fin: salimos mondos y desnudos
a tierra, ni sé adónde, ni sé como,
habiéndose engullido el mar primero
hasta una catalnica que traímos,
de habilidad tan rara, y tan discreta,
que, si no era el hablar, no le faltaba
otra cosa ninguna.
DON ANTONIO Bien, por cierto,
la habéis encarecido; aunque yo pienso
que catalnicas mudas valen poco.
TORRENTE Por señas nos decía todo cuanto
quería que entendiésemos.
MUÑOZ ¡Milagro! (*LE*: ll. 850-60)

Torrente has remembered the parrot, but he did not need to say that it was of the mute variety. He is an improvising actor, but not a particularly good one, as Muñoz's sarcastic aside emphasizes, and it is precisely his lack of sure-footedness that helps to sustain the illusion that he is improvising.

Here and elsewhere in the play there is clearly a link between improvisation and metatheatre, in one of the senses in which both Hornby (1986: 67-87) and Thacker (2002: 1-18) have explored the term, which is 'role-play within the role'. This is not just 'theatrically self-conscious theatre', to borrow Slater's neat definition of metatheatre (1985: 14), but theatrically self-conscious *improvised* theatre. Indeed, it is that improvised quality that makes Cervantes's use of metatheatre so original. When a play is metatheatrical we are usually aware of the boundaries, whether between the play and the play within the play or between the actual and assumed role. That often puts the offstage audience in a privileged position, compared with the spectators on stage. Cervantes, however, blurs those boundaries, lulling us into thinking that we have a true perspective, in this case that Cardenio and Torrente are going to follow Muñoz's script, only then to distort that perspective by having them improvise a variation. The theatrical world that Cervantes constructs in *La entretenida* is, therefore, one where we are not always completely sure what is going on. In that sense it corresponds to the world that he inhabited, where social relationships, according to Liñán y Verdugo, were theatrical in nature: 'No se persuada que es todo oro lo que reluce […] y muchas de estas cortesías

son socarronerías: ni fie en galas, ni en gracias, ni en apariencias, ni en presencias, ni en riquezas exteriores, si no sabe los oficios interiores a que se ganaron' (1980: 105).[9]

The plan to depart from Muñoz's script is hatched in what might be termed the 'fourth dimension' of the play—the space that is neither the main action, nor the action of the play within the play, nor that inhabited by the spectator or reader, but an invisible world beyond the play, which we can only inhabit imaginatively. What Cervantes is telling us is that the stage is a world, but an incomplete one. We must work hard to fill in the gaps, to try to provide the missing pieces of the jigsaw. Indeed, since we must complete what is only implied in the action that is played out on stage, we *are* one of those missing pieces, and arguably the most important one. We are drawn into the world of the play as active, rather than passive, spectators.

Metatheatre in *La entretenida* is not confined to role play within the role, since there is a play within the play in Act III in the form of the servants' interlude, during which the feeling that one is watching an improvisation is particularly strong. Arboleda's reference to the mixture of the improvised dialogue, song and dance that constituted the *commedia dell'arte* could be description of this *entremés*: 'Este era un espectáculo no sólo visual sino auditivo, en donde, además de diálogos improvisados y de acrobacias se incorporó la música, el baile y el canto populares como parte de todo el espactáculo teatral' (1991: 29). Cristina informs us that the script has been written by three different people:

CRISTINA Hale compuesto Torrente
y Muñoz, y es la maraña
casi la mitad de Ocaña,
que es un poeta valiente. (*LE*: ll. 2061-64)

Since Torrente has already extemporized on Munoz's script, and has also spent most of the play at loggerheads with Ocaña because of their rivalry over Cristina, the spectator might already have begun to suspect that a collaboration between this trio of playwrights can only be a recipe for disaster, and this suspicion is, indeed, borne out by the performance. Cervantes cleverly reinforces the impression that it is an impromptu entertainment by blurring the boundaries between the play within the play and the main

[9] Cited by Spadaccini (1993: 42)

play, creating what Zimic terms a 'gran incertidumbre acerca de la precisa línea divisoria entre lo ficticio, lo supuesto real dentro de lo ficticio, lo real' (1992: 253). Maldonado (1958) and Cubero (1997: 62) have claimed to be able to trace clearly the demarcation lines between the play and the play within the play, but it is difficult to share that view, since it is unclear either when the interlude begins or even who is supposed to be performing in it. There are two apparently false starts. The first is at line 2235, when Ocaña and Torrente enter '*como lacayos embozados'*. The stage direction is particularly unhelpful, since Ocaña is, after all, a footman. These servants would therefore appear to be playing the same parts that they play in 'real' life. The comments of the other characters, one of whom, Muñoz, is apparently one of the authors of the entertainment, seem to indicate that the play has already started. However, neither Torrente nor Ocaña, who is somewhat the worse for wear on account of having drunk too much, appear to know where they are supposed to go on:

CARDENIO No es muy mala la entrada.
MUÑOZ ¿Como mala?
Digo que es la mejor cosa del mundo.
Yo soy su medio autor.
TORRENTE Ocaña, ¿es éste
el zagüán da la fiesta?
OCAÑA No diviso:
que tengo las lumbreras algo turbias.
Adonde oyeres música, repara. (*LE*: ll. 2242-47)

The second false start is at line 2250, when Dorotea and Cristina appear. The stage direction that precedes their entrance ('*Salen Dorotea y Cristina como fregonas*') is once again designed to confuse, since the kitchen-maid Cristina, like Ocaña, is wearing the same clothes that she wears in the main action of the play. The servants' dialogue only adds to the sense of confusion. Dorotea and Cristina's conversation, far from being a performance, seems to be the excited tittle-tattle of two servants who are eagerly anticipating an opportunity to dance. Nevertheless, Muñoz, who is apparently part of the audience, applauds their efforts enthusiastically, only to be met with threats of violence by his drunken co-author Ocaña:

MUÑOZ ¡Vive el cielo!, que es cosa de los cielos
El entremés.
OCAÑA Aquel viejo me enfada;
Que le he de dar, pondré, una bofetada. (*LE*: ll. 2292-93)

Our confusion is heightened by the presence of a 'play within the play within the play' in the form of the song and dance that is performed by the barber and a band of musicians. This dance appears to have no relation to the drama that unfolds between Torrente and Ocaña, who react to it critically as spectators, objecting to its lascivious tone. Indeed, the subject matter of the *seguidilla* seems to have more bearing on the unsuccessful attempts by the male characters in the play to either protect or police the two Marcelas:

Madre, la mi madre
guardas me ponéis;
que si yo no me guardo,
mal me guarderéis. (*LE*: ll. 2319-22)

The aggressive heckling of Ocaña and Torrente and the responses it provokes continue to give the impression that the performers are not following a script, an impression that is further strengthened when, after Ocaña expresses his desire to dance with Cristina, the two servants begin to quarrel. Their rivalry over the kitchen-maid has been simmering throughout the main action of the play, and is, indeed, demonstrated in a scene immediately preceding the interlude, in which they square up to each other in a display of bravado that is eventually amicably resolved. It is therefore natural, for both sets of spectators, to assume that the events of the ‘real’ life of the play have spilled over into the *entremés*. However, on this occasion the humorous bluster, typified by Ocaña’s remark that he will dance with the Archbishop of the Toledo if he feels like it (*LE*: ll. 2392-95), descends into violence, with Ocaña appearing to cut off Torrente’s nose and to be stabbed in return. Muñoz has witnessed the actors departing from his script for the second time in the play:

MUÑOZ Diole. ¡Mal haya la farsa
Y el autor suyo primero!
Pero yo no di esta traza,
ni escribí tal en mis versos. (*LE*: ll. 2404-07)

Thacker (2007: 60) has described metatheatre as 'a sign of the breakdown of authority in both of its key senses, social and artistic', and that is, indeed, the case here, since the departure from the script creates uproar among both actors and spectators, with Marcela de Almendárez fainting at the sight of blood, and results in the arrival of an *alguacil* and his constable, who have been attracted to the scene by the commotion. Eventually they discover that Torrente and Ocaña's fight has been nothing more than a practical joke, a *commedia dell'arte lazzo* involving a wineskin and some fake blood.[10] However, Cervantes does not even allow the spectator to feel safe about that conclusion, hinting, in a brief and sinister exchange that takes place between the *alguacil* and Ocaña, that real violence might yet erupt:

ALGUACIL Luego, ¿todo aquesto es burla?
OCAÑA Todo aquesto es burla luego,
Pero después serán veras. (*LE*: ll. 2480-82)

These lines point to the preoccupation with the relationship between fiction and reality that is at the heart of all his writing, and particularly apparent in his works for the stage. The effect of the interlude can only really be seen in performance. Judging by the response of the audience to the staged reading at King's College London, the offstage spectators are just as likely to be taken in by the joke as those onstage, provided that the scene is played convincingly by the actors, who must react to the violence with shock and horror and to the arrival of the *alguacil* with fear and trepidation. Once more, therefore, Cervantes, through the improvisations of his characters, manages to confuse our perception of what is really happening in the play. Indeed, the very fact that we can think in terms of what is 'really' happening in relation to a fictional entertainment indicates the extent to which he is able to blur the boundary between life and literature, about which more will be said in the next chapter.

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[10] In the second part of *Don Quijote,* at Camacho's wedding, Basilio fakes his own death in similar fashion, thus tricking his host into allowing him to marry the bride-to-be Quiteria (*DQ* II. 21: 875-82).

The ending of the interlude provokes as much uncertainty, for both sets of spectators, as its beginning, depending as it does on the chance intrusion of the forces of authority, which suddenly emerge from the invisible, external world of the play—the 'fourth dimension' referred to earlier. Their appearance serves both to create the illusion that what is unfolding on stage is the result of random events—in this case that the *alguacil* just happened to be doing his rounds at the time the interlude was being performed—and to give us the impression of a world where disorder is met with a swift response by the powers-that-be. Moreover, since that disorder has been engineered by the improvisations of Torrente and Ocaña, the arrival of the officers of the law provides a further illustration of the uneasy relationship between improvisers and authority that was mentioned earlier in this chapter. A similar pattern can be noted elsewhere in *Ocho comedias*: in *El retablo de las maravillas* the metatheatre is interrupted by a quartermaster, who comes into conflict with the townspeople as a result, while in *El viejo celoso* the uproar created by the improvised charade that is acted out in front of Cañizares by Ortigosa, Cristina and Lorenza also attracts the attention of a passing *alguacil*. According to Maravall (1979: 85), the appearance of these authority figures in Cervantes's work and the fearful reaction that they elicit provide an example of the repressive nature of Baroque society. In *La entretenida* the incompetence of these representatives of the state serves as a humorous counterbalance to the fear that they instil into the characters of the play, but Cervantes nonetheless creates the impression of a world where the forces of authority are never far away, ready to snuff out the first sign of social unrest and re-establish order. The message from the *alguacíl* in the play is probably an accurate reflection of the attitude of the authorities in real life, which is that a certain amount of subversion is tolerated, as long as it has a comic purpose and does not represent a serious threat:

ALGUACIL De que todo sea comedia,
y no tragedia, me alegro;
y así, a mi ronda, señores,
con vuestra licencia, vuelvo. (*LE*: ll. 2496-99)

The connections with the *commedia dell'arte* go deeper than the *lazzo* of the interlude. Hartnoll writes, with regard to performance practice in that genre, that 'by tradition the *zanni* could take the basic situation of the play in performance as far from

its prescribed path as they pleased, provided they brought it back to a point where the scenario could be picked up again' (1985: 61). Ocaña and Torrente's *lazzo* has just this kind of digressive quality with respect to the main action of *La entretenida*, which restarts in the following scene with the arrival of the real Don Silvestre. The relationship with Italian improvised comedy even extends to the use of props: the club with which Ocaña threatens Torrente in the scene that precedes the interlude, which he ironically refers to as 'martas' ('Sable'), suggests the same kind of club that one sees in pictures of *Arlecchino* (see *Fig. 1*), while the scene at the end of Act II in which Ocaña eavesdrops Cristina and Torrente's conversation, reacting to the insults and threats that are being made against him by wiggling his feet, which are protruding from beneath a tapestry, also brings to mind the physical humour of the *commedia dell'arte*.

Fig. 1: Arlecchino

There is also evidence that Cervantes may have been influenced by the way that *arte* actors structured their improvisations. Richard Andrews has shown how scenarios were realized through the use of what he terms 'modular units' or 'elastic routines', which could be extended by means of repetition (1993: 178). To illustrate his point he refers to a document that appears to be a transcription of an improvisation: *Dialogo de un Magnifico e Zani Bergamasco*. In one extract from this material the humour is derived from the growing exasperation of the *magnifico* as he is kept waiting for news of a courtesan's reaction to his sonnet by the *zani*, who spins out the conversation in order to delay confessing that he forgot to deliver the poem (Andrews 1993: 179-80). The dialogue is remarkably similar in tone to the first scene of Act III of *La entretenida*, in which Don Antonio is kept on tenterhooks, waiting for news of Marcela Osorio from

Don Francisco, who keeps digressing (*LE*: ll. 1831-2006). Another example of Cervantes's use of 'elastic routines' in *Ocho comedias* is the scene in *El viejo celoso* in which Lorenza noisily makes love behind a door while her niece Cristina tries to persuade the old man Cañizares that it is all a joke. Cristina's words are highly repetitive: five times she says '¡Jesús, y que locuras y que niñerias!' (*EN*: 271-2).[11] This kind of repetition is a device ideally suited to improvisation, since it buys time for the actor to think of something else to say. It is an example of what Jane Freeman, borrowing from the language used to describe the use of short repeated phrases in jazz, calls a 'rhetorical riff'. Andrews argues that Molière applied the rhythmic structures of improvised 'elastic gags' to his scripted comedies (1993: 246-47). Cervantes, over thirty years earlier, was already beginning to do the same.

Freeman likens the rhetorical exchanges between Shakespearean characters like Kate and Petruchio in the *Taming of the Shrew* to the snappy interplay of jazz musicians (2003: 251). The command of rhetoric of the characters in *La entretenida* is by no means as sure-footed. However, the lack of assuredness helps to sustain the illusion that the dialogue is improvised rather than scripted, as the following extract from a sonnet by Torrente demonstrates:

TORRENTE Pluguiera a Dios que nunca aquí viniera;
o, ya que vine aquí, que nunca amara;
o, ya que amé, que amor se me mostrara,
de acero no, sino de blanda cera… (*LE*: ll. 1168-71)

Sometimes the attempt at grand oratory is undermined by the juxtaposition of a mundane comment:

OCAÑA Es Cristinica un harpón,
es un virote, una jara
que el ciego arquero dispara,
y traspasa el corazón.

[11] One of the sources for *El viejo celoso* may well have been a *commedia dell'arte* scenario entitled *Il vecchio geloso*, published by Flaminio Scala in *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* in 1611, in which a woman satisfies her desires behind a door while her husband stands outside. The influence of Italian improvised comedy on this *entremés* has also been acknowledged in the way it has been staged: the production by the touring company *La Barraca* that I witnessed in a parking lot romantically named 'El Huerto de las Monjas', at the Almagro Festival of 2006, was performed by actors wearing *commedia dell'arte* masks.

Es un incendio, es un rayo,
¿Cómo un rayo? Dos y tres.
TORRENTE Y vuesa merced, ¿quién es? (*LE*: ll. 1205-11)

To borrow Freeman's analogy between rhetoric and jazz, the characters of *La entretenida* do not, therefore, always swing, and therein lies much of the humour.

The improvisers of *La entretenida* meet with more success on stage than in the 'real' life of the play. Thus, while Ocaña and Torrente's *lazzo* in the interlude manages to fool both sets of spectators, Cardenio and Torrente's scam fails, unmasked by Don Silvestre's own deception. However, elsewhere in *Ocho comedias* there are examples of improvisers who are more successful in the real world. In *El laberinto de amor*, for example, Julia and Porcia, daughter and niece of the Duke of Dorlán, run away from home in pursuit of Manfredo and Anastasio, the men they love, assuming several impromptu changes of role and gender in order to achieve their ends. Porcia plays five different characters: a shepherd, a male student, a male peasant, a female peasant and Rosamira. Tension between the assumed and actual identity sometimes rises to the surface—another illustration of the difficulty of determining the dividing line between fiction and reality. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Act II, when Porcia and Julia decide to go their separate ways, disguised as a peasant and student, each accompanying the man who is the object of their affections. When Manfredo and Anastasio become involved in an altercation the two friends find themselves fighting each other and become confused:

JULIA ¡Deja estar los cabellos, enemigo!
¿Quieres, con esparcirlos, que se vea
quién somos?
PORCIA Pues, hereje, ¿estásme dando,
Y no te he yo de dar? (*LA*: ll. 1419-22)

In *La gran sultana* the captive Madrigal provides another example of a successful improviser, managing to talk his way out of being executed by claiming that he can interpret bird-calls and teach an elephant to speak. He later offers his services as a tailor and a poet before announcing at the end of the play his intention to become a playwright and write another version of the drama we have just witnessed.

MADRIGAL Y aun pienso,
pues tengo ya el camino medio andado,
siendo poeta, hacerme comediante
y componer la historia desta niña
sin discrepar de la verdad un punto,
representando el mismo personaje
allá que hago aquí. (*GS*: ll. 2913-19)

Madrigal makes an explicit link between the role he plays in 'real' life and the one he imagines he will play in the theatre, thereby mixing fact with fiction, which is precisely what Cervantes does, since one of the sources of his play was probably the true story of the love affair between Sultan Amurates III and a Christian woman of Venetian origin (*GS*: XIII). That intention, to mix illusion and reality is signalled at the end of *El gallardo español*, the very first play in the collection:

GUZMÁN Buitrago,
no haya más, que llega el tiempo
de dar fin a esta comedia,
cuyo principal intento
ha sido mezclar verdades
con fabulosos intentos. (*GE*: ll. 3129-34)

Madrigal is like a preliminary sketch for the protagonist of *Pedro de Urdemalas*, a Protean figure whom we watch playing various roles, including a mayoral adviser, a gypsy, a confidence trickster dressed as a blind beggar and a student, before his improvisatory talents are spotted by a group of actors, whose company he joins. Ironically, in view of his lowly social status, Pedro displays the same qualities that Castaglione, according to Rebhorn (1978: 14), had identified as crucial to the success of a courtier: 'He especially wants his courtier to develop an ideal flexibility, a protean quality which will enable him to shift from role to role with the lightening speed of a quick-change artist.' Pedro realizes that the imaginary world of the stage gives him the opportunity to transcend the role that life has assigned him, that of 'hijo de la piedra' (*PU*: l. 600), and become anything he wants to be:

PEDRO Ya podré ser patriarca,
pontífice y estudiante,
emperador y monarca:
que el oficio de farsante
todos estados abarca; (*PU*: ll. 2862-66)

Pedro escapes into fiction, exchanging the world that has been his stage for the stage that is now his world. Belíca may have swapped her gypsy costume for regal finery, but in so doing she has actually sacrificed her freedom for the artificial, shallow world of the court. Pedro, on the other hand, is free to go wherever he wishes, beyond this play into another one, 'allá dentro,' which we, the audience, are not privileged to enter.

PEDRO Ya ven vuesas mercedes que los reyes
aguardan allá dentro, y no es posible
entrar todos a ver la gran comedia
que mi autor representa, que alabardas
y lancineques y frinfrón impiden
la entrada a toda gente mosquetera. (*PU*: ll. 3160-65)

Rebhorn's commentary on Castiglione is, therefore, once more relevant to Pedro: 'Through his understanding of role playing and his mastery of the myriad forms assumed by human activities, Castigliones's ideally flexible courtier nor only achieves social success, but the truest sort of freedom as well' (1978: 14). Pedro is an example of what Thomas Hart calls an 'adroit improviser' (1990: 196). However, for us as spectators the question of success or failure is not necessarily the most important one. If the characters win the day, we admire their resourcefulness, but even if they fail, like Cardenio and Torrente in *La entretenida*, we laugh, whether from a sense of superiority or solidarity. The fact that they appear to be improvising keeps us on the edge of our seats and ensures that the drama retains a sense of unpredictability that is true to life.

La entretenida ends with the characters leaving the stage one by one without any of them having realized their ambitions. That same lack of closure is also felt at the end of *La gran sultana*, when first Madrigal and then Rustán talk of a new play that will tell the story of Doña Catalina, and in the final scene of *Pedro de Urdemalas*, when Pedro announces that another play will be performed on the following day, one that does not end in marriage—a clear reference to *La entretenida.* Spadaccini and Talens have noted

a similar lack of resolution in the *entremeses*, contrasting it with what generally happens in the *comedia nueva*, and remarking that it suggests 'a state of continuous tension between the dominant society and those who withdraw psychologically, socially, or economically from its norms' (1993: 26). This feeling of incompleteness, and of a deviation from the norm, is as intrinsic to the spirit of improvisation, where the act of creation is always in process, as it was foreign to the enclosed space of the *corrales*, where, for example, all forty seven of Tirso de Molina's *comedias de enredo* ended in marriage (Darst 1998: 165). According to Maravall, during the Baroque period life was not understood as a *factum*, but as a *fieri*, a process of becoming:

> Quizá habría que decir que toda realidad posee esa condición de no estar hecha, de no haberse acabado, lo que nos facilita, sin duda, comprender, ese nuevo gusto barroco por versos de palabras cortadas, por la pintura inacabada, por la arquitectura que elude sus precisos contornos, por la literatura emblemática que requiere dejar al lector terminar por su cuenta el desarrollo de un pensamiento. (1975: 349)

That world view is found throughout Cervantes's work. It is apparent, for example, in the response of another subversive improviser, Ginés de Pasamonte, to Don Quixote's question about when his picaresque autobiography will be finished: '¿Cómo puede estar acabado —respondió el—, si aún no está acabada mi vida?' (*DQ* I. 22: 266). It is also reflected in *Ocho comedias*, and particularly in *La entretenida*, which, of course, has its own 'versos de palabras cortadas', in the sonnet that Ocaña delivers at the end of Act II. Yet the recent performance history of Cervantes's late plays reveals a tendency to try to frame that which was never intended to be framed. The 2004 RSC production of Philip Osment's translation of *Pedro de Urdemalas* responded to the episodic quality of the play by portraying it as 'Fifteen episodes from the life of *Pedro the Great Pretender*' and having the actor John Ramm announce each one in turn. That intervention showed a failure to understand one of the most original features of Cervantes's theatre, which makes it so distinct from those of his contemporaries. Lope's masterful plotting leaves us in no doubt that he is in control. Cervantes, on the other hand, sacrifices plot structure to the desire to create something that has the vibrancy of improvised theatre, a world where the actors, not the author, appear to be in control, and where there is a sense of incompleteness and fragmentation that corresponds to real life. It is entirely appropriate therefore that the action of *Pedro,* which portrays an improviser in the

process of reinventing himself, unfolds in a meandering fashion, and it needed no artificial division into scenes to compensate for what was perceived as a structural weakness. The 2005 production of *La entretenida* by the Compañia Nacional de Teatro Clásico showed a similar failure to understand the structure of the play, by attempting to impose on the servants' interlude precisely those clear boundaries that Cervantes wished to avoid. It did this in various ways, including transposing the location of the *entremés* from inside the Almendárez household to an outdoors picnic scene (a particularly strange choice considering that the play is set in a Madrid winter), and dressing the servants in Wild West outfits.[12]

The effect that Cervantes strives for in the interlude, and successfully achieves, is to make it impossible for the spectator to discern when the performers have crossed the border between the main action of the play—what is 'really' happening—into the fiction of the interlude. That intention is part of a general preoccupation with the question of the relationship between life and art, and the difficulty of separating the two, encapsulated by Ginés de Pasamonte's response to Don Quixote. Those, like myself, who were fortunate enough to watch Art Pepper perform live in the late 1970's and early 1980's, after his career had resumed following a lengthy period of imprisonment and rehabilitation in the 60's, found it similarly difficult to separate his art from his life. His struggle with drug addiction was well known and well-documented, in articles, interviews and video recordings, and particularly in a remarkably candid autobiography, *Straight Life: The Story of Art Pepper* (1979), which, unlike Ginés de Pasamonte, he managed to write before he died, in 1982.[13] His body bore the emblems of his terrible struggle, as one can see by comparing the photograph of the fashionably dressed saxophonist with Hollywood good looks, on the cover of the album *Art Pepper Meets the Rhythm Section*, released in 1957, with the haunted portrait of the man in a t-shirt with prison tattoos, on the sleeve of the album *Living Legend*, from 1975. One of the tunes on the latter recording, *Lost Life*, testifies to how the titles of his compositions would also frequently be autobiographical. In live performance, however, it was as much the visceral quality of his playing, and the sense of it unfolding in the moment, as

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[12] See the image from the production, online at http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_autor/Cervantes/verfoto.formato?foto=graf/fotos/008674_entret01_s.jpg&pieFoto=Imagen+de+la+representaci%25F3n&pag=videoteca_obra4.shtml

[13] For further biographical information on Pepper see Seibert (2000).

well as the bodily signs of what he had experienced, that made one feel the connection between his life and his art.

In the prologue to *Novelas ejemplares*, Cervantes also presents a portrait of himself, one which, like the second photograph of Art Pepper, bears witness to the toll that the years have taken: silver-haired, with few teeth left, stooped over, and his left arm crippled from the gunshot wound he received at Lepanto (*NE*: 15-17). His life experiences frequently find their way into his writing, particularly the time he spent as a hostage in Algiers. The theme of captivity recurs over and over again, particularly in *Ocho comedias,* as if, by retelling that story, he could somehow rid himself of the nightmare of what he had lived through and witnessed in North Africa. However, Cervantes's interest in the relationship between life and art in writings for the stage goes much deeper than the inclusion of autobiographical references. It also finds expression in his creation of improvising playwrights, characters who appear to be writing their own scripts and, like jazz musicians, inventing in the moment. This connection between life and art, and the way it manifests itself in improvisation, had probably begun to fascinate him ever since, as a boy, he had witnessed the travelling theatre of Lope de Rueda pitch up and perform, in impromptu fashion, *pasos* that might be described as slices of life—an experience that he describes in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 10-11). That fascination would have been deepened by seeing the performances of *commedia dell'arte* troupes. However, as the next chapter will show, there was a theoretical, as well as performative, dimension to the question of the relationship between life and art, which also preoccupied him, and which may help us to understand both *La entretenida* and Cervantes's attitude to the *comedia nueva.*

2

Cervantes, Lope and Dramatic theory

Criticism of *La entretenida* has tended to focus, on the one hand, on the play's metatheatrical features, in particular the interlude in Act III, and, on the other hand, on arguing that it is a parody of the *comedia nueva* in general and the comedies of Lope de Vega in particular. According to Zimic (1992: 222), *La entretenida* is 'una sostenida y coherente parodia de todas las características fundamentales de la Comedia nueva', while Sevilla Arroyo (*LE*: XXX) describes the play as a 'discreta réplica […] al falaz, por artificioso y convencional, canon de Lope de Vega'.[1] Other important critics of Cervantes's theatre, such as Canavaggio (1977: 119-21) and McKendrick (2002: 145-46), express similar opinions. This view, as can be seen from the quote from Sevilla Arroyo, is often accompanied by a tendency to regard Lope and Cervantes as representing polar opposites in their approaches to the theatre. The cover of one issue of the *Boletín de la Compañia Nacional de Teatro Clásico*, for example, which contained an article by Jesús Maestro (2004: 4-5) on the theme, featured a pair of boxing gloves, with the headline 'Cervantes vs Lope (primer asalto)', as if Cervantes and Lope were the Mohammed Ali and Joe Frazier of their day.[2]

There are good reasons for finding the view that the play is a parody of Lope to be an incomplete one, since, as I will seek to demonstrate in Chapter 3, the burlesque and parodic elements of the play encompass many other literary genres besides the *comedia nueva.* There is, moreover, as I will argue in Chapter 4, a strong case for regarding the metaliterary aspect of *La entretenida* as a means whereby Cervantes expresses social, as well as aesthetic concerns. In this chapter, however, I would like to begin by challenging the way that criticism has tended to portray the two writers. Re-examining their views on the theatre will, I believe, demonstrate that they shared a number of theoretical concerns, even if their solutions were ultimately different. In Cervantes's case those theoretical concerns were another facet of his central preoccupation, which was the relationship between life and literature, the same preoccupation, in fact, that

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[1] In an earlier article Zimic develops his idea at greater length (1976: 19-119).

[2] Curiously, Maestro had earlier appeared to question that tendency (2000: 308).

links those two aspects of *La entretenida*—its metatheatrical and parodic qualities—which have hitherto been treated as separate in criticism of the play.

In comparing Cervantes's plays with those of Lope de Vega criticism has been inclined to contrast his perceived failure as a dramatist with the brilliant success of the most famous playwright of the Golden Age, and of those who followed his model. McKendrick, for example, relates that 'his failure as a dramatist is as revealing as others' success' (1989: 135). The question of whether Cervantes was quite as unsuccessful as is often suggested is itself open to debate. *El cerco de Numancia* is one of the best known and widely performed plays in the history of Spanish theatre, while a lost early play, *La confusa,* was described by Cervantes as one of the best cape and sword plays ever written, and apparently justly so, since it still formed part of the repertoire of the *autor* Juan de Acacio in 1627, when the *comedia nueva* was at the height of its popularity (Reguera 2006: 2685-86). Nevertheless, Cervantes, even by his own admission, did not enjoy as much success with his later plays as with his earlier ones, and, in attempting to find reasons for this, criticism has continued to cast Lope as the innovator, following the formula he lays down in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, and Cervantes as the died-in-the-wool traditionalist, clinging stubbornly to Aristotelian principles.[3] In fact, as Wardropper pointed out, as long ago as 1955, and Riley, Maestro and Thacker more recently, Cervantes's plays cannot so easily be classified, and certainly cannot be described as classical.[4]

Two factors have contributed to this polarisation by critics of the views of Cervantes and Lope on theatre. One is the legendary personal animosity that existed between them, which may have occasionally spilled over into the comments they made about each other's writing, but which should not be allowed to influence our perception of their artistic differences. Another is the assumption that Cervantes's characters are representative of his own views. For example, in chapter 48 of the first part of *Don Quijote* the canon, continuing a discourse on literary theory that begins with a discussion of novels of chivalry in the previous chapter, expresses the view that plays

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[3] McKendrick, for example, writes that 'Cervantes' unwillingness or inability to pour his later plays fully into the Lope mold is a measure of the difference between them' (2002: 131-59).

[4] 'Difficulties—such as the fact that Cervantes' own plays, if not Lopesque, are not neo-classical either; that he praises Lope, and so on—are brushed aside' (Wardropper 1955: 217). 'Ninguna de las piezas conocidas de Cervantes guarda conformidad con los criterios conocidas clásicos requeridos por los dos eclesiásticos' (Riley 1973: 303). 'Acaso Lope sea aún más aristotélico que el propio Cervantes, a quien debemos muchos de los logros de la estética literaria moderna' (Maestro 2000: 34). 'In fact Cervantes does not fit comfortably into either camp: classical or Lopean' (Thacker 2007: 59).

that do not pander to popular tastes, but 'llevan traza y siguen la fábula como el arte pide', are only likely to appeal to a few 'discretos' (*DQ* I. 48: 604). The priest takes up the theme: 'habiendo de ser la comedia, según le parece a Tulio, espejo de la vida humana, ejemplo de las costumbres y imagen de la verdad, las que ahora se representan son espejos de disparates, ejemplos de necedades e imágenes de lascivia' (*DQ* I. 48: 605).[5] Zimic (1976: 26) writes that 'el Canónigo habla en nombre de un Cervantes desilusionado e indignado por sus fracasos teatrales', and assumes that the canon reflects the author's *preceptista* viewpoint. Riley, however, points out that Cervantes's tendency to theorize dialogically, due to his natural inclination to see things from different perspectives, makes it difficult to determine his own views, and warns that it is dangerous to assume that the canon or the priest is expressing Cervantes's opinion (2004: CLXVIII). The priest's comments are, indeed, cast in a particularly ironic light, since he has been the *autor* of a particularly absurd piece of pantomime, performed by a company of actors of dubious quality: a scheme to lure Don Quixote back home that entails Dorotea masquerading as the Princess Micomicona, and the barber Maese Nicolás as her squire, using an oxtail as a fake beard, which subsequently falls off and is reattached while the priest utters a magic spell, much to the amazement of the gullible Don Quixote (*DQ* I. 29: 374-75). Earlier versions of this script have been even sillier, requiring first the priest and then the barber to play the part of the damsel in distress, and have consequently provoked Sancho's mirth and the protagonists' embarrassment (*DQ* I. 27-28: 326-29). Among the objects of the priest's criticism are plays that fail to observe the unity of place, with the result that the action takes place on different continents. Yet moving the action from one side of the world to the other, from Sevilla to Mexico, is precisely what Cervantes does in act II of *El rufián dichoso*. It was clearly not a decision that was taken lightly, since he felt it necessary to preface the abrupt shift in location with a debate, in the form of a *loa*, between the allegorical characters of *Comedia* and *Curiosidad*, in which the former justifies the break with classical precepts on the grounds of pragmatism:

> Buena fui pasados tiempos,
> y en éstos, si los mirares,
> no soy mala, aunque desdigo

[5] The aphorism of Cicero, also known as 'Tully' (Tulio), was passed down in Donato's commentaries on Terence (*DQ* I. 48: 605, n. 19).

de aquellos preceptos graves
que me dieron y dejaron
en sus obras admirables
Séneca, Terencio y Plauto,
y otros griegos que tú sabes.
He dejado parte dellos,
y he también guardado parte,
porque lo quiere así el uso,
que no se sujeta al arte.
Ya represento mil cosas,
no en relación, como de antes,
sino en hecho; y así, es fuerza
que haya de mudar lugares;
que, como acontecen ellas
en muy diferentes partes,
voime allí donde acontecen,
disculpa del disparate. (*RD*: ll. 1233-52)

Where, amidst these conflicting views, are those of Cervantes? Riley (1973 303-04) felt that the expression of an opposing view to those of the canon and the priest in this dialogue between Curiosidad and Comedia, coupled with the more favourable comments regarding the *comedia nueva* in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 12-14) are an indication that Cervantes changed his mind. Wardropper, on the other hand (1955: 221), takes the view that the canon, whose highly ambivalent views about novels of chivalry colour the ensuing debate about the theatre, expresses Cervantes's dilemma, rather than his opinions, regarding the theatre: intellectually he argues for a classical approach, but his instincts as a writer lead him in another direction. Wardropper's view is based on the idea that the choice facing Cervantes was a bipartite one, between the classical approach to drama and the modern one represented by the *comedia nueva*, However, we should also consider, bearing in mind what was said in the previous chapter concerning the influence of improvisation on Cervantes's writings for the stage, that there was another kind of theatre, represented by the *commedia dell'arte* and its offshoots, for example the *pasos* of Lope de Rueda, which fascinated him and tugged him in a third direction. The dilemma, in any case, was never fully resolved, as is exemplified by the quote from *El rufián dichoso* above, in which, as Riley (1973: 307)

mentions, Comedia's words are cast in an ironic light by the use of the phrase 'disculpa de disparate'.

Cervantes's ambivalence concerning the theory of the drama is reflected in his attitude towards the plays of Lope, which ranges from fulsome praise to disapproval, even within the same passage. His reference to Lope as a 'monstruo de la naturaleza' in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 12) is a typically cryptic one, which could be understood either as a criticism of the failure of his rival's plays to reflect real life, or as an expression of admiration of his prodigious creativity, or both. The priest, in his diatribe against contemporary theatre, reveals equally mixed feelings about an unnamed playwright, who has been identified by various critics, including Marín (Cervantes 1948: vol. 4, p. 247, n.), Riquer (Cervantes 2002a: p. 509, n. 14), Sevilla Arroyo (Cervantes 2001: vol. 1, p. 687, n. 30) and Rico (*DQ* I. 48: 608, n. 32), as Lope:

> Y que esto sea verdad véase por muchas e infinitas comedias que ha compuesto un felicísimo ingenio destos reinos con tanta gala, con tanto donaire, con tan elegante verso, con tan buenas razones, con tan graves sentencias, y, finalmente, tan llenas de elocución y alteza de estilo, que tiene lleno el mundo de su fama; y por querer acomodarse al gusto de los representantes, no han llegado todas, como han llegado algunas, al punto de la perfección que requieren. (*DQ* I. 48: 608)

As Rico points out (*DQ* I. 48: 608, n. 32), the criticism with which Cervantes qualifies his praise of *El Fénix* is, in fact, milder than that to which Lope subjects himself in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*:

> Verdad es que yo he escrito algunas veces
> siguiendo el arte que conocen pocos,
> mas luego que salir por otra parte
> veo los monstruos, de apariencia llenos,
> adonde acude el vulgo y las mujeres
> que este triste ejercicio canonizan,
> a aquel hábito bárbaro me vuelvo;
> y, cuando he de escribir una comedia,
> encierro los preceptos con seis llaves;
> saco a Terencio y Plauto de mi estudio,
> para que no me den voces (que suele
> dar gritos la verdad en libros mudos),
> y escribo por el arte que inventaron

> los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron,
> porque, como las paga el vulgo,
> es justo hablarle en necio para darle gusto.
>
> (*AN:* ll. 33-48)

The latter's confession that he writes 'por el arte que inventaron | los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron' sounds remarkably like the priest's accusation that the 'felicísimo ingenio destos reinos' has lowered his standards 'por querer acomodarse al gusto de los representantes'.

There are, in fact, many similarities between the writings of Cervantes and Lope on theatre, to the extent that the latter might easily have written the passage from *El rufián dichoso* quoted above. Both were critically engaged with dramatic theory, and both were familiar with, and respectful of, the classical models—Seneca for tragedy, and Terence and Plautus for comedy. Indeed, in order to support his argument that comedy should not limit itself to portraying the lower social classes, Lope invokes the precedent of Plautus in *Amphitrio,* one of the plays that influenced the plot of *La entretenida*:

> Esto es volver a la comedia antigua
> donde vemos que Plauto puso dioses,
> como en su *Anfitrïón* lo muestra Júpiter.
>
> (*AN*: ll. 165-67)

However, both Cervantes and Lope were prepared to depart from these models if it suited their artistic purpose. Both also acknowledged the influence of Lope de Rueda. As Burningham (1998: 294-95) points out, Lope, in *Arte nuevo,* by associating himself with 'el vulgo' (*AN*: ll. 147-56). implicitly places himself within the tradition of de Rueda, whose plays he earlier describes as 'vulgares' (*AN*: l. 66), and whose performances were later to be remembered so fondly by Cervantes in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 9-11). The two writers even shared an admiration of certain dramatists. In *Arte nuevo* Lope praises both Cervantes's friend Virués (*AN*: ll. 215-18), one of the poets celebrated in *Viaje del Parnaso* (*VP* III: 240, l. 55), and the now little-known playwright Miguel Sánchez (*AN*: ll. 319-22), whose achievements are also singled out in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 13).

In spite of these similarities, there was, nevertheless, one key difference of opinion between Lope and Cervantes, which lay in their attitude towards the commercialization of the theatre. Spadaccini and Talens put it as follows: 'Clearly the problem is not that Lope abandons all classical principles or that Cervantes follows them slavishly. Rather, one is confronted with two different attitudes vis-a-vis the practice of public theater at a time when the playwright has lost control over the product of his work' (1993: 74). The power had shifted to the *autor*, a word that had originally meant 'author', but was increasingly used to refer to the actor-managers of theatre companies.[6] Both Cervantes and Lope were aware that the theatre had become a 'mercadería vendible', as the priest describes it, in which the alternative for the playwright is 'ganar de comer con los muchos' or 'opinión con los pocos' (*DQ* I. 48: 604), a stark choice between material comfort or reputation, which presages Kafka's 'hungerkûnstler' (lit. hunger-artist). In *Arte nuevo* Lope unashamedly places himself in the first category, sounding apologetic for having broken with the classical precepts, but justifying it, with a shrug of the shoulders, on the grounds of sating the appetite of the 'monstruo cómico' and giving the public what they want. Anyone writing plays in the old style will die 'sin fama y galardón':

> Si pedís parecer de las que agora
> están en posesión, y que es forzoso
> que el vulgo con sus leyes establezca
> la vil quimera de este monstruo cómico,
> diré el que tengo, y perdonad, pues debo
> obedecer a quien mandarme puede,
> que, dorando el error del vulgo,
> quiero deciros de qué modo las querría,
> ya que seguir el arte no hay remedio,
> en estos dos extremos dando un medio.
>
> (*AN*: ll. 147-56)

[6] '**Autor**. […] comúnmente se toma por el inventor de alguna cosa. **Autores**, los que escriven libros y los initulan con sus nombres' (*Cov*: 170b, l. 27). '**Autor**. Tambien se dice el que es cabeza y principál de la farsa, que representa las Comédias en los corráles ò theatros públicos, en cuyo poder entre el caudál que adquiéren para su mantenimiento, y para repartirlo entre los cómicos' (*Aut* I: 490a). Covarrubias's definition hints at the notion of authorship in the Early Modern period without encompassing all the possible meanings of the term. For a broad treatment of the subject see Bennett (2005).

In the same letter in which he vilifies Cervantes's poetry (see Appendix 2, p. 211) Lope, referring to satire, writes: 'cosa para mí más odiosa que mis librillos a Almendárez y mis comedias a Cervantes. Si allá murmuran de ellos algunos que piensan que los escribo por opinión, desengañeles V.m. y dígales que por dinero' (Vega 1985: 68-69).[7] According to Martínez (1929: 624-25), Lope even conducted his own market research in order to hone his successful formula: 'Lope asistía a la representación de comedias propias y ajenas, fijándose en los pasajes que lograban mayor aplauso del público, a fin de tenerlo en cuenta al escribir.'[8] Cervantes, on the other hand, had always found the business of courting artistic popularity distasteful. In the prologue to *Don Quijote* he ridicules the practice of including laudatory poems in the prefatory material to a book, while in the sonnet *El autor a su pluma,* which precedes *Viaje del Parnaso*, he expresses similar views, but with little of the humour, and an increased bitterness about the depths to which writers must stoop in order to curry favour:

> Pues veis que no me han dado algún soneto
> Que ilustre deste libro la portada,
> Venid vos, pluma mía mal cortada,
> Y hacedle, aunque carezca de discreto.
> Haréis que escusó el temerario aprieto
> De andar de una en otra encrucijada,
> Mendigando alabanzas, escusada
> Fatiga e impertinente, yo os prometo.
> Todo soneto y rima allá se avenga,
> Y adorne los umbrales de los buenos,
> Aunque la adulación es de ruin casta.
> Y dadme vos que este Viaje tenga
> De sal un panecillo por lo menos,
> Que yo os le marco por vendible, y basta.
>
> (*VP*: 215)

In the words of Pancracio de Roncevalles, who acts as an *alter ego* for the author in the conversation that makes up the *Adjunta al Parnaso*—another example of the dialogic

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[7] Lope's mention of 'Almendárez' is interesting, and raises the possibility that it may have influenced Cervantes's decision to base *La entretenida* in the Almendárez household. According to Marín (Vega 2005: 68, n. 4), Lope was actually referring to Julián de Armendárez (1585?-1614), a poet and playwright who, like Cervantes, had been a friend of Lope until shortly before the letter was written.

[8] Cited by Maravall (1975: 213)

tendency referred to above—one may discern a desire on Cervantes's part to experience once more a popularity that he had almost certainly once enjoyed as a dramatist: '—De los dineros no hago caso—respondió él—: más preciaría la fama que cuanto hay. Porque es cosa de grandísimo gusto y de no menos importancia ver salir mucha gente de la comedia, todos contentos, y estar el poeta que la compuso a la puerta del teatro recibiendo parabienes de todos' (*VP*: 313-4, ll. 104-09). However, while his primary purpose as a writer, as Riley (1962: 84) indicates, may have been to entertain, success, according to Close, was not to be won at any price: 'the whole range of his literary endeavours, in the *novela*, the *comedia*, *Don Quijote*, and *Persiles*, testifies to the aspiration to reconcile popular entertainment with standards of good art' (2000: 76). In Cervantes's opinion, Lope, although capable of writing brilliant plays, sometimes produced sub-standard work in order to satisfy the demands of his paymasters. It is a view that has been endorsed retrospectively by Maravall (1975: 187), who comments as follows:

> Con el Barroco, por una serie de razones sociales, surge el *kitsch*, y entonces hasta la obra de calidad superior ha de hacerse en coincidencia y en competencia con obras de esos otros niveles, en definitiva, de cultura para el vulgo. A veces, hasta un mismo autor puede ser responsable de obras de uno y otro nivel —bástenos recordar a Lope y a Calderón.

Cervantes had no doubt about where the blame lay for the commercialization of the theatre. The fault was not with the 'necio vulgo', or even the dramatists, but with the all-powerful intermediaries between these two groups, the *autores*: 'y, así, el poeta procura acomodarse con lo que el representante que le ha de pagar su obra le pide' (*DQ* I. 48: 608). These were the same people, in fact, that Lope had identified in *Arte nuevo* as 'los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron' (*AN*: l. 46). According to the prologue of *Ocho comedias* it was the contempt of just such an 'autor de título' for Cervantes's poetry that had cooled the interest of one bookseller in publishing his later plays: 'En esta sazón me dijo un librero que él me las comprara si un autor de título no le hubiera dicho que de mi prosa se podía esperar mucho, pero que del verso, nada' (*LE*: 14-15). [9]

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[9] *Autores de título* were those who enjoyed royal privilege to mount productions. From 1603 their number had been limited to eight: Gaspar de Porres, Nicolas de los Ríos, Baltasar de Pinedo, Melchor de Léon, Antonio Granados, Diego López de Alcaraz, Antonio de Villegas and Juan de Morales (*LE*: 14-15, n. 39). Since Nicolas de los Ríos is the name that Pedro announces he will adopt in his new career as an actor (*PU*: ll. 2817-21) one can assume it was one of the other seven who were so uncomplimentary about Cervantes's plays.

To judge by Cervantes's terse explanation to Pancracio in the *Adjunta* about why his newer plays had not been performed, that contempt was reciprocated: 'ni los autores me buscan, ni yo los voy a buscar a ellos' (*VP*: 314, ll. 131-32). Cervantes's exile from the theatre was thus at least partly self-imposed. Unlike Lope, he proudly and stubbornly refused to bow to market forces. Believing his plays to be 'pan de trastrigo', in other words made of superior ingredients, he had no wish to become one of the 'poetas paniaguados', as he witheringly describes the favourite playwrights of the *autores* (*VP*: 314, l. 135), writing plays that always end in marriage.[10] That kind of play was 'cosa común y vista cien mil veces' as the hero of *Pedro de Urdemalas* reminds us (*PU*: l. 3170). For Cervantes to produce that kind of theatre would have involved compromising one of his core artistic beliefs, which was that writing should be truthful.

This issue of truth, or verisimilitude, is of central importance in Cervantes's literary theory, and surfaces time and again in his writing, for example in the priest's demand that plays should be an 'espejo de la vida humana, ejemplo de las costumbres y imagen de la verdad' (*DQ* I. 48: 605). The words are a translation of an aphorism by Cicero (referred to below as 'Tulio'), to which Lope, for whom the issue of truth was equally important, also refers in *Arte nuevo*:

> Por eso Tulio las llamaba espejo
> de las costumbres y una viva imagen
> de la verdad, altísimo atributo,
> en que corren parejas con la historia.[11] (*AN*: ll. 123-26)

However, we should again be cautious about assuming that the priest represents Cervantes's views. At the very least, we should be prepared to concede that those views might have changed in the ten years that elapsed between the publication of the first part of *Don Quijote* and the appearance of *Ocho comedias*. The following extract from *Viaje del Parnaso*, published shortly before the volume of plays, is more revealing of his thoughts:

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[10] '**Paniaguado.** El allegado à una casa que está beneficiado del dueño de ella, y le da de comer. Es compuesto de las voces pan y agua' (*Aut* V: 107b).

[11] 'Comoedia est imitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis'. The aphorism was transmitted by Donato in his commentaries on Terence (V, 1) (*DQ* I. 48: 605, n. 19).

Que a las cosas que tienen de imposibles
Siempre mi pluma se ha mostrado esquiva;
  Las que tienen vislumbre de posibles,
De dulces, de suaves y de ciertas,
Esplican mis borrones apacibles.
  Nunca a disparidad abre las puertas
Mi corto ingenio, y hállalas contino
De par en par la consonancia abiertas.
  ¿Cómo pueda agradar un desatino,
Si no es que de propósito se hace,
mostrándole el donaire su camino?
  Que entonces la mentira satisface
cuando verdad parece y está escrita
con gracia, que al discreto y simple aplace.

(*VP* VI: 280, ll. 50-63)

Here Cervantes begins by telling us that he *always* avoids the impossible, and *never* opens the door to absurdity. However, just a few lines later he allows for exceptions. Such absurdities can be entertaining if they have a comic purpose. There are several examples of this kind of comic absurdity in *La entretenida.* The dancing barber, who is conveniently on hand to perform first aid after Ocaña and Torrente's fake fight, is one (*LE*: ll. 2295-2456). Another is the reaction of the *alguacil* on entering the Almendárez household and surveying a bloody crime scene in which one person has apparently had his nose cut off and another has been run through. Finding a guitar that has been left by a fleeing musician, his first words are '¿Qué guitarra es aquésta?' (l. 2440). As Riley (1962: 22) reminds us, this distinction between calculated and uncalculated absurdity is an important one in Cervantes's literary theory, and it is not necessarily confined to comedy. Earlier in *Viaje del Parnaso* he boasts of his ability, in *Novelas ejemplares*, to 'mostrar con propiedad un desatino' (*VP* IV: 254, ll. 25-27). Indeed the very titles of some of those stories, with their references to an English Spanish woman, a man made of glass, an illustrious kitchen-maid and a conversation between two dogs, are designed to shock the reader and prepare him or her to be amazed by the artful depiction of what is apparently impossible. Cervantes's artistic purpose is thus clearly altogether more complex than simply to create an 'espejo de la vida'. The final stanza of the passage from *Viaje del Parnaso,* quoted above, hints at what is really at play. It indicates another way in which the absurd might be permissible: lies can bring pleasure if they are made

to *appear* to be true. The concept of verisimilitude he is suggesting here is no longer about art being like a mirror that *reflects* nature, but about blurring the boundary between art and nature to such an extent that fiction can seem real. The metaphor of the mirror, in the classical sense, implies a consciousness of both the reflecting object (the work of art) and what is reflected. Cervantes disturbs that consciousness. If there is a mirror, it is hidden from view, in the manner of an illusionist. Riley likens Cervantes's achievement in *Don Quijote* to the effect of Velázquez's *Las meninas*, a painting that confuses the borders between artist, work and spectator to such an extent that it apparently inspired the art critic Théophile Gautier to exclaim 'But where is the frame?' (1962: 48). The theatre, with its living, breathing actors, gave Cervantes ample opportunity to further play with that uncertainty, as is demonstrated by the servants' interlude in *La entretenida*, the effect of which is to lead the audience to ask 'Where is the stage?'

Of central importance in the matter of ensuring that a work would be verisimilar was the theory of *decorum*, which, as Riley reminds us (1962: 136), was inherited from the classical theory of Plato, Aristotle and Horace. In *Diálogo de la lengua* (c. 1535) Juan de Valdés gives two meanings of the word: 'Quando queremos dezir que uno se govierna en su manera de bivir conforme al estado y condición que tiene, dezimos que guarda el decoro. Es propio este vocablo de los representadores de las comedias, los quales estonces se dezia que guardavan bien el decoro, quando guardavan lo que convenia a las personas que representavan' (1953: 137).[12] The first aspect of decorum is therefore concerned with proper behaviour, in accordance with one's station in life, as illustrated by the following lines from *Los baños de Argel*:

CAPITÁN	Ya no está aquí mi hermano; el dolor fiero	
	temo que no le saque del decoro	
	que debe a ser quien es.	(*BA*: ll. 171-73)

Decorum, in this sense, is related to the theme of 'soy quien soy' that appears in many Golden Age plays.[13]

The second aspect of decorum is a rhetorical representation of the first one, which incorporates the various ways in which actors make the parts that they play true to life,

[12] Cited by Close (2000: 119)

[13] See Maravall (1990: 61)

for example by matching the register of speech to the character. Hamlet's advice to the players, in which he also invokes the metaphor of the mirror and nature, is essentially an appeal for them to observe decorum in this sense:

> Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance: that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature; for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. (Act III, Sc. 2, ll. 12-17) [14]

The verses that the corrector Alonso de Proaza adds as an epilogue to the version of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* that was printed in Toledo in 1500, advising how the book was to be read aloud, express a similar concern with decorum in an artistic sense:

> Si amas y quieres a mucha atención
> leyendo a *Calisto* mover los oyentes,
> cumple que sepas hablar entre dientes,
> a vezes con gozo, esperança y passión.
> A vezes ayrado con gran turbación.
> Finge leyendo mill artes y modos,
> pregunta y responde por boca de todos,
> llorando y riendo en tiempo y sazón. (Rojas 1991: 613-14)

Decorum is therefore a concept that links both life and art. Lope was equally aware of the importance of the term, and in *Arte nuevo* devotes several lines to the subject, illustrating both meanings of the word:

> Si hablare el rey, imite cuanto pueda
> la gravedad real; si el viejo hablare,
> procure una modestia sentenciosa;
> describa los amantes con afectos
> que muevan con extremo a quien escucha;
> los soliloquios pinte de manera
> que se transforme todo el recitante,
> y, con mudarse a sí, mude al oyente;

[14] Shakespeare *Complete Works* (ed. Bate: 1960)

pregúntese y respóndase a sí mismo,
y, si formare quejas, siempre guarde
el debido decoro a las mujeres.
Las damas no desdigan de su nombre,
y, si mudaren traje, sea de modo
que pueda perdonarse, porque suele
el disfraz varonil agradar mucho. (*AN*: ll. 269-83)

To behave with decorum is thus to act both properly, in a social sense, and appropriately, in an artistic sense. Cervantes frequently also uses the word *propiedad* to convey both these senses of the word, although the matter is complicated by the fact that *propiedad* itself can have other shades of meaning, which reflect the different senses of decorum discussed above, including 'propriety', 'likeness', 'conformity' or even 'artistry'.[15] *Propiedad* in this sense is related to the rhetorical concept of *enargeia*, which, as Smith puts it, 'aims to create a "credible" image which will take the audience into the presence of the object itself' (1985: 224). However, in the prologue to *Don Quijote* Cervantes uses *decoro* in a way that reveals a further shade of meaning of the word in its relation to art. Commenting on the books that are currently popular he writes: 'Pues ¿qué, cuando citan la Divina Escritura? No dirán sino que son unos santos Tomases y otros doctores de la Iglesia, guardando en esto un decoro tan ingenioso, que en un renglón han pintado un enamorado destraído y en otro hacen un sermoncico cristiano, que es un contento y un regalo oílle o leelle' (*DQ* I: 12). Here he uses the word in ironic fashion, in the sense not of appropriate acting, but of appropriate choice of material by the writer. Juxtaposing a sermon and a portrait of a distracted lover is a humorous example of the failure to observe that principle.

As mentioned above, in dramatic theory the purpose of decorum, like that of the three unities, was to promote verisimilitude. However, applied too strictly, it had a limiting effect on the creation of interesting characters. 'The vice corresponding to the virtue of appropriateness was the stereotyping of characters, which plagued classical drama with its 'typical' old men, young men, servants, and the rest' (Riley 1962: 138).

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[15] Under the orthographic variant 'propriedad' *Autoridades* includes the following definitions: 1) 'la debida proporción, naturalidad ò perfeccion con que se usa de alguna cosa ò se habla de ella, sin quitar ni añadir circunstancia, que la altére ù desluzca' 2) 'semejanza ò perfecta imitación: como en la Pintura, Musica ù otras cosas' (*Aut* V: 407b). Riley (1962: 22) gives 'appositeness' or 'decency' as possible translations. citing the use of those terms by English theorists such as Puttenham, while Close (2000: 18) suggests that the most relevant meanings are 1) 'natural conformity to the thing done, said or represented' and 2) 'artistry', 'nice judgement', 'appropriateness to the objective'.

The problem of stereotypes was not, therefore, a new one for dramatists, but rather as old as theatre itself, one that Homer and Terence had wrestled with, and one that led Golden Age theorists to make concessions. Cueva, for example, allowed for a departure from decorum 'for some express exemplary reason', while El Pinciano permitted the principle not to be observed if it was for the purpose of producing *admiratio*, or in comedy, where the exceptions found in life might be imitated (Riley 1962: 138). Decorum was thus a double-edged sword: a useful concept that helped to promote verisimilitude, but one which, if applied too literally, would result in theatre that was dull and predictable. Characters who only behave either as we expect them to or as they ought to will not engage our attention. Decorum, in both senses of the word, may dictate that a play should end in marriage, but real life tells us that this is not always the case. The worst plays of the *comedia nueva*—the stereotypes of which Cervantes complains—are symptomatic of a failure to solve this problem, which is one that was faced not only by Early Modern dramatists, but by their predecessors as well.

Decorum was an issue that both Cervantes and Lope grappled with, sometimes using similar language in the process. The priest, railing against the *disparates* to be witnessed in modern plays, says '¿Y qué mayor que pintarnos un viejo valiente y un mozo cobarde, un lacayo retórico, un paje consejero, un rey ganapán y una princesa fregona?' (*DQ* I 48: 606). Lope, who may well have been stung by the implicit criticism of himself in the diatribe, appears to echo the priest's remarks in *Arte nuevo*:

> [Guárdese de] imposibles, porque es máxima
> que sólo ha de imitar lo verisímil;
> el lacayo no trate cosas altas
> ni diga los conceptos que hemos visto
> en algunas comedias extranjeras; (*AN*: ll. 284-88)

In *La entretenida*, however, Cervantes depicts many of the 'impossible' characters mentioned by the priest and Lope. Don Pedro is a sufficiently intimidating old man that his arrival on stage should cause Don Ambrosio, who has obtained an agreement to marry his daughter against his wishes, to beat a hasty retreat, and he subsequently threatens to kill the usurper or die in the process (*LE*: ll. 2768-2819); Quiñones is a 'mozo cobarde', who refuses to stand up for himself in the face of Ocaña's insults (*LE*: ll. 141-56); while Ocaña, who himself reveals a cowardly streak in his dealings with

Torrente, hence his ironic name—an oblique reference to the fierce Hyrcanian tiger of Virgil's *Aeneid* or Felixmarte de Hircania of the chivalric romance—is also a 'lacayo retórico', who auditions, unsuccessfully, to become Don Antonio's *consejero* (*LE*: ll. 576-715). These characters can, to some extent, be understood as examples of the deviation from the principle of decorum that was permitted in comedy. If one assumes that the priest is Cervantes's spokesperson it is logical to conclude that the intention behind the comedy is purely a parodic one and that, by depicting such unlikely characters, Cervantes simply wishes to ridicule the *comedia nueva*. However, as has been shown above, it is dangerous to make that kind of assumption, and the resultant conclusion does not explain why an 'impossible' character like Ocaña is such a believable one. Moreover, as what Cervantes writes in *Viaje del Parnaso* shows, the depiction of the unlikely, absurd or impossible is not particular to *La entretenida*, but a central feature of his writing, both for the stage and elsewhere. Nor is it linked exclusively to humorous situations. In *El laberinto de amor*, for example, we may not see a 'rey ganapán', but we do see the Duke of Dorlán, Anastasio, dressed as a labourer, and two noblewomen of the some household, Julia and Porcia, dressed as shepherdesses and peasants.[16] There is, therefore, a strong case for arguing that, in *La entretenida*, Cervantes wished to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by the priest and by Lope, in order to demonstrate how, through the powers of invention of which he was so proud, it might be possible to portray 'con propiedad un desatino'. In doing so he engaged with the age-old problem of decorum—how to create believable characters who are not stereotypes—in a particularly interesting way.

Both Riley (1962: 137) and Close (2000: 119) have pointed out that Cervantes was concerned with both the social and artistic aspects of decorum. They do not, however, mention how Cervantes, in accordance with his fascination with the relationship between life and art, blurs the distinction between these two aspects of the term, often drawing attention to social issues in the process. *La entretenida* contains several examples, one of which is provided by what Ocaña says to Cristina in the first scene of the play:

OCAÑA	Y mal tu venganza cifras
	en no guardar el decoro

[16] See stage directions preceding lines ll. 246 and 1288 (*LA*).

que debes a ser fregona
de las más lindas que vi, (*LE*: ll. 47-50)

There is a dual irony in Ocaña's remarks, which stems from the different possible meanings of the word *decoro.* Since the profession of kitchen-maid was one associated with thieving and prostitution, as Cervantes reminds us in Cristina's *Celestina*-like speech at the beginning of Act II, a *fregona* is hardly a character whom one would expect to be demure. Moreover, the very fact that Ocaña speaks about Cristina in such terms indicates the extent to which she departs from decorum in the artistic sense, and does not *act* like a typical kitchen-maid. Thus, she responds to his accusations that she has been flirting with Quiñones with indignation, gives herself airs and graces, and claims that she is of illustrious descent:

CRISTINA ¿Soy, por ventura, mujer
que he de avasallarme a un paje?
¿O vengo yo de linaje
de tan bajo proceder?
¿No soy yo la que en mi flor,
por no querer ofendella,
presumo más de doncella,
que no el Cid de Campeador?
¿No soy yo de los Capoches
de Oviedo? ¿Hay más que mostrar? (*LE*: ll. 53-62)

However, Cristina is unable to sustain the illusion of being of a 'doncella'. The ancestry she claims is spurious and, unlike her literary cousin Constanza in *La ilustre fregona*, she does not prove to be of noble birth. Beneath the humour Cervantes makes an important social point, reminding us of the gap between the world that Cristina inhabits and the one to which she would aspire. Her departure from the principle of decorum in an artistic sense thus reflects her desire not to obey decorum in a social sense and 'bivir conforme al estado y condición que tiene', as Valdés defines it.

Ocaña, the 'lacayo retórico', is another character who demonstrates the intrinsic connection between departure from decorum in its artistic and social senses in *La entretenida,* as is illustrated in the scene in which he interrupts Don Antonio's soliloquy with his mundane concerns (*LE*: ll. 576-715). He carries a pair of horse-blinkers, and his

request for money to shoe the horse and rations for himself seems to reinforce the connection with the real world that the props make. However, the dismissive response he elicits from Don Antonio prompts him to a course of action that is not at all what one would expect of a footman, in the form of a lengthy appeal to be given the chance to prove that he is capable of much more:

OCAÑA que, si tú fueras poeta,
quizá fuera yo marqués,
o, por lo menos, ya fuera
tu consejero y privado (*LE*: ll. 619-22)

As with Cristina, the extent to which Ocaña departs from his role in an artistic sense reflects his desire to play another role in a social sense. Don Antonio, impressed by his eloquence, decides to promote him to *consejero* and confide his problems to him, but Ocaña fails spectacularly at the first hurdle in his new role:

OCAÑA Dime tu mal, mi señor,
y verás cómo en tantico
tantos remedios aplico,
que sanes con el menor.
Y si por ventura es
el ciego el que te atormenta,
puedes, señor, hacer cuenta
de que ya sano te ves,
porque no se ha de tomar
conmigo el dios ceguezuelo.
DON [ANTONIO] Que no estás en ti recelo.
OCAÑA ¿Pues en quién había de estar?
Que, a no tomarme del vino,
por costumbre o por conhorte,
no hubiera en toda la corte
otro Catón Censorino
como yo. (*LE*: ll. 677-92)

Ocaña is unable to sustain his rhetorical flight of fancy and reverts to type—a drunken footman whose clumsy and hilarious attempts at erudition result in his being sent back to the stables. He is himself an example of the ‘disparidad que no hace consonancia’ to

which he has referred earlier in the same scene (*LE*: 643-44), and once again the spectator is reminded of the gulf between aspiration and reality amongst the servants.

The interlude provides another good example of how Cervantes explores the tensions between servants and masters through the issue of decorum. Even before it begins Don Antonio is at pains to ensure that standards of decency will be maintained, responding to Cristina's declaration that she will dance herself into a frenzy with an admonition:

CRISTINA	Hacerme tengo rajas esta noche	
DON ANTONIO	El término decente	
	de honestidad se guarde,	
	Cristina	(*LE*: ll. 2045-48)

The issue is clearly one that concerns his sister Marcela too, since, just a few lines later, she repeats the warning:

MARCELA	Mira, Cristina, que sea	
	el baile y el entremés	
	discreto, alegre y cortés	
	sin que haya en él cosa fea	(*LE*: ll. 2057-60)

However, her intentions, and those of the interlude's third scriptwriter, Muñoz, are subverted, first by the salacious *seguidilla* that is performed, and then by the improvisations of Ocaña and Torrente. Cardenio's use of the word 'propiedad', in his congratulatory remarks to Ocaña and Torrente, following their sham fight in the interlude, is just as ambiguous, and equally ironic, as Ocaña's use of the word 'decoro' to Cristina in the first scene:

CARDENIO	Ocaña y Torrente, digo	
	que el asunto fue discreto	
	del picón, y que se hizo	
	con propiedad en estremo.	(*LE*: ll. 2500-03)

With regard to the the artistic meaning of *propiedad,* the performance has, indeed, been a convincing one—so convincing, in fact, that Ocaña and Torrente, dressed as servants

and bickering over Cristina in the same way as they have done in the action that precedes the interlude, have managed to hoodwink both sets of spectators. However, if we take Cardenio's comment as referring to *propiedad* in its social sense, then nothing could be further from the truth, since they have behaved outrageously, causing Marcela de Almendárez to faint with shock at the sight of the apparent bloodshed, the law officers to intervene, and Don Antonio to threaten real violence in retribution. The ambiguity is quite deliberate by Cervantes, since for him artistic and social subversion are two sides of the same coin. There is, therefore, a dual significance to the fact that this play so self-consciously does not end in marriage, the understanding of which makes it possible to move beyond the narrow view that it is only a parody of Lope and the *comedia nueva*.

The agents of subversion are the characters, who refuse to play the roles assigned to them, in either an artistic or social sense. A nondescript, unmarried *hidalgo*, by the name of Alonso Quijano, from a nameless village in La Mancha, whiling away his middle years in apparently innocuous pursuits such as hunting with hounds and reading, had created similar problems in a book that was published some ten years previously, subverting his literary models and attracting the attention of the *Santa hermandad* in the process. Here it is interesting to refer back to the evolution in meaning of *decoro* in its artistic sense. Valdés, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, indicates that is a matter for actors, while Cervantes, in the prologue to *Don Quijote* indicates that it is partly the author's responsibility. The change in meaning reflects a gradual shift in power away from the actor and towards the writer and a transformation in the way that public theatre was structured. When Valdés was writing theatre companies were still largely itinerant, like Lope de Rueda's troupe that Cervantes describes so vividly in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*. By the end of the century another Lope held sway—not an actor but a writer—and theatre had become an industry, performed in the fixed, enclosed spaces of the *corrales*. Actors, however, had by no means completely relinquished their power, and they still had the potential to subvert the script through their improvisatory skills. Hamlet was only too aware of the danger, as he shows in the concluding part of his advice to the Players:

> And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them, for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh

> too, though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered: that's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.
>
> (Act III, Sc. 2, ll. 26-30)[17]

As Burningham (1998: 289) points out, 'villainous', in this context, does not necessarily mean 'knavish', but is connected with the original sense of the word 'villain', defined in the *OED* as a 'low-born, base-minded rustic', and thus related semantically to the Spanish *villano*.[18] The kind of theatre that Lope de Rueda practiced specialized in the portrayal of just such rustic types, and could therefore be described as 'villainous' or, as Lope de Vega puts it in *Arte nuevo*, 'vulgar'. Unlike Hamlet, who, despite having introduced, for his own subversive purposes, 'a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines' into the script of *The Murder of Gonzago* (Act II, Sc. 2, l. 475), is—somewhat hypocritically—adverse to the actors doing the same, Cervantes, in *La entretenida*, delights in the mayhem that these 'villainous', and singularly indecorous, improvisers create. The confusion that they sow is part of his strategy to blur the boundaries between art and life. The resultant bewilderment of the audience about what is going on, and their subsequent enlightenment, is a large part of the entertainment, and entertainment, as the title informs us, is the play's primary purpose.

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[17] Shakespeare *Complete Works* (ed. Bate 2007: 1960)

[18] 'Villain, n.' *OED*: <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/223417> [accessed February 29 2012].

3

Life, Literature and Memory

> Todo cuanto pensaba, veía o imaginaba le parecía ser hecho y pasar al modo de lo que había leído. (*DQ* I. 2: 52)

Summarising *La entretenida*, Jean Canavaggio (1977: 121) describes it as a 'Revanche de la Vie sur la Littérature', thereby suggesting that literature (as represented by the Lopean model) is false, and that real life (as represented in Cervantes's play) is true. This opposition is actually a false one. For Cervantes the point is that bad literature is false, and that good literature is true. Moreover, as Riley points out, Cervantes's writing is much more *about* literature than *against* literature: 'Books affect peoples's lives; literature is a part of their experience; Cervantes's novel is, among other things, about books in life' (1962: 44). I would like to take this idea a little further, and suggest that it is about life seen *through* books. For Cervantes, literature is a way of viewing and understanding the world, and books are a way of connecting author and reader, not just in the sense of linking Cervantes with his public, but also in the sense of connecting the 'writerly' and 'readerly' aspects of himself. *Don Quijote* is the most famous example of this tendency, which is present throughout Cervantes's work, including the *Ocho comedias*, a volume of plays that, having failed to find an audience in the *corrales*, was aimed at the reading public.

Cascardi, discussing the view that *Don Quijote* is a parody of chivalric romance, states that 'a glance at Alonso Quijano's library confirms just how mistaken it would be to regard the Quixote as born solely from a critical engagement of the romances' (2002: 72). That library, which was, of course, also Cervantes's, includes Montemayor's *La Diana*, anthologies of lyric poetry, Cervantes's own *Galatea* and examples of Renaissance epic verse, such as Ercilla's *La Araucana*. Just as *Don Quijote* refers to several different genres, including the picaresque, the pastoral, the Italian *novella*, the adventure romance and the ancient verse epics, so *La entretenida*, as I will show, is the result of Cervantes's critical engagement with a number of literary forms besides the Lopean model of the *capa y espada* play. Spadaccini and Talens (1993: 51) use musical terminology to make a similar point about the *entremeses*: 'One of the characterizing

traits of Cervantes's writings is polyphony, and the *entremeses* are no exception. By polyphony we refer to the plurality of discourses that are interwoven in those comic texts that engage in dialogue with Cervantes's own literary writing as well as with different poetic texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.' They cite *El rufián viudo* as a particularly striking example of that polyphony, whose 'saturation of parodies and […] references to poems and genres in vogue at the time', first pointed out by Asensio (Cervantes 1970: 34), include the poetry of Quevedo, Garcilaso and Góngora, as well as many of Cervantes's own writings (Spadaccini and Talens 1993: 51). This metaliterary aspect of Cervantes's writing, because it concerns the relationship between the artist and his public, is another expression of the same preoccupation with the relationship between art and life that underlies his objections to the falseness of much contemporary theatre and his desire to ensure verisimilitude in his own work.

In order to fully appreciate the significance of this metaliterary quality one first needs to place it in the context of the importance of memory, and systems of memory storage and retrieval, in the Early Modern period. As Bouza has indicated (2004: 1-2), one of the primary objectives of writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was 'to forge a memory of things, ideas and people through the transmission of knowledge of their deeds, sentiments, and passions'. Writing, for Cervantes and his contemporaries, was thus a way of responding to, and defeating, the inevitability of the destruction of memory by time. The same was true of reading, about which, in 1602, the Augustinian friar Pedro de la Vega said that 'se inventó para ayuda y reparo de la memoria'.[1] Mary Carruthers has pointed out that this connection between reading and memory is to be found in the Greek word for 'to read', *ànagignósko*, which means 'to know again' or 'to recollect' (1990: 30). Both writing and reading could, of course, involve the printed word as well as manuscript, each of which had advantages and disadvantages as means of preserving memory. Print had a greater permanence. Handwritten documents, on the other hand, were more appropriate for private communication, which is why Cervantes often invokes the image of a manuscript in order to engage more closely with his readers, for example in Chapter 9 of the first part of *Don Quijote*, when he relates the discovery of the notebooks belonging to Cide Hamete:

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[1] Cited by Bouza (2004: 1 & 76, n. 3)

> Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un muchacho a vender unos cartapacios y papeles viejos a un sedero; y como yo soy aficionado a leer aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles, llevado desta mi natural inclinación tomé un cartapacio de los que el muchacho vendía y vile con carácteres que conocí ser arábigos. (*DQ* I. 9: 118)

This sense of intimacy with his audience is particularly important for Cervantes. Another strategy he employs in order to establish it is to address the reader directly, and often affectionately too, for example as 'desocupado lector' in the prologue to *Don Quijote* (*DQ* I: 9), or as 'lector carísimo' in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* (*LE*: 9), thus making every reader feel he is writing just for them.

The relationship between Cervantes and his Early Modern readers was thus an intimate one in which memories were shared. Those memories were frequently of one's reading, and were dependent on systems of storage and retrieval, both mental and physical, many of which had been inherited from antiquity and the Middle Ages. The use of such systems had became more widespread since the advent of printing, which saw the dissemination of knowledge in books on such a wide scale that it was feared in some quarters that the memory might be overwhelmed by the resultant flood of information (see *Fig. 2*).

Fig. 2 Periit pars maxima (the majority was wasted)
Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco, *Emblemas Morales* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610) [2]

One way of aiding the memory was to write brief notes or summaries of one's reading. The ideal medium for storing this information was the *libro de memoria,* of the kind

[2] Reproduced in Navarro Bonilla (2006: 430).

which Sancho discovers in Cardenio's bag in the Sierra Morena.[3] This 'book of memory' is described in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* as follows:

> LIBRO DE MEMORIA. El librito que se suele traher en la faltriquera, cuyas hojas están embetunadas y en blanco, y en él se incluye una pluma de metál, en cuya punta se inxiere un pedazo agudo de piedra lápiz, con la qual se annóta en el librito todo aquello que no se quiere fiar à la fragilidad de la memoria: y se borra despues para que vuelvan à servir las hojas, que tambien se suelen hacer de marfil. (*Aut* IV: 400b)

The words 'librillo de memoria' were translated by Shelton as 'tablet' and by Oudin as 'des tablettes', and since, according to the *OED*, the word tablet, in this context, is synonymous with 'table', it is no surprise to find that the definition from *Autoridades* is a very accurate description of the 'writing tables' that can be found at the British Library.[4] These are of similar dimensions and appearance, measuring approximately 4 inches by 3 inches, bound in leather, with an ornate design on the front and back, and fastened by means of two metal clasps attached to the front and back. In the earlier example a stylus, with a small knob on one end for ease of removal, is inserted in the front cover at the bottom right-hand corner. The contents of the two sets of writing tables are also similar: a 23-year almanac; rules for knowing the phases of the moon; significant dates; prayers; a table of weights and measures; distances between principal towns; pictures of the coinage of several European countries, including France, Flanders, Portugal and Spain; a description of England and Wales, with important historical dates; blank sheets of paper; and, most importantly, the tables themselves—pieces of stiffened paper or card, covered with a waxy substance, described by Covarrubias as *barniz*, on which one wrote with the stylus, and which could later be wiped clean.[5] Hamlet likens his memory to just such a set of tables, from which he will

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[3] 'Y, buscando más, halló un librillo de memoria ricamente guarnecido' (*DQ* I. 23: 275).

[4] 'And, searching for more, he found a tablet very costly bound' (Cervantes 1895: vol. I, p. 225).
'Et en fouillant d'auantage, il trouua a des tablettes fort richement accommodees' (Cervantes 1614: fol. 263r).
'Table, *n.* […] 2b. A small portable tablet for writing upon, esp. for notes or memoranda; a writing tablet.' *OED*: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/196785?rskey=4aoiIE&result=1> [accessed February 29 2012].
Writing Tables (Anon. 1581); *Writing Tables* (Triplet 1604).

[5] '**BARNIZ**. […] es una especie de goma, semejante al almáziga, que mana del enebro. Dicha grassa, y della y del aceite de linaça de olivo, se haze el compuesto que vulgarmente llamamos barniz, con que se da lustre a toda pintura y se barniza el hierro al fuego, las tablas en blanco para escrivir' (*Cov*: 195a, l. 21).

erase everything, including the sayings and maxims ('saws') gleaned from his reading, except the command of his father's ghost to revenge his murder:

> Remember thee?
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
> That youth and observation copied there;
> And thy commandment all alone shall live,
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmix'd with baser matter. (Act I, Sc. 5, ll. 102-09)[6]

Hamlet reinforces the metaphor of memory as a tablet by actually producing from beneath his cloak a set of writing tables:

> My tables: meet it is I set it down
> That one may smile and smile and be a villain
> (Act I, Sc. 5, ll. 113-14)[7]

The smallness of the tables made them eminently portable and thus an excellent prop for an actor or a traveller. Indeed, it is highly likely that Cervantes carried with him just such a set of tables as he travelled through Andalucia in the years he spent working as a government civil servant. They were probably tucked into the saddlebag of his mule, in the same way as those stolen from the French traveller in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.

> Con todo esto, a la entrada de la ciudad, que fue a la oración, y por la Puerta de la Aduana, a causa del registro y almojarifazgo que se paga, no se pudo contener Cortado de no cortar la valija maleta que a las ancas traía un francés de la camarada; y así, con el de sus cachas le dio tan larga y profunda herida, que se parecían patentemente las entrañas, y sutilmente le sacó dos camisas buenas, un reloj de sol y un librillo de memoria, cosas que, cuando las vieron, no les dieron mucho gusto. (*NE*: 170)

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[6] Shakespeare *Complete Works* (ed. Bate 2007: 1940). Ironically, the fact that Hamlet sets down his father's exhortation in such an impermanent medium suggests that it may, in fact, be only too easy for him to forget his obligation. Indeed, Lope uses the same metaphor in order to illustrate the fragility of memory in Act II of *Amar, servir y esperar*: 'no es de bronce la memoria, | sino tabla con barniz, | que se borra facilmente, | y encima se sobre escriue.' (Vega 1635: fol. 52r).

[7] Shakespeare *Complete Works* (ed. Bate 2007: 1940).

Cervantes may have used such writing tables to jot down *refranes*, memorable expressions, compositional ideas, or even whole poems, such as the one that is discovered in Cardenio's *librillo de memoria.* This sonnet is not, however, as Chartier suggests (2007: 14-15), the rough draft of an original one by Cardenio, since it is addressed not to Luscinda, the woman he loves, but to Fili, a name associated with pastoral literature and, indeed, given by Cervantes to a shepherdess in *Galatea*:

> O le falta al Amor conocimiento
> o le sobra crueldad, o no es mi pena
> igual a la ocasión que me condena
> al género más duro de tormento.
> Pero, si Amor es dios, es argumento
> que nada ignora, y es razón muy buena
> que un dios no sea cruel. Pues ¿quién ordena
> el terrible dolor que adoro y siento?
> Si digo que sois vos, Fili, no acierto,
> que tanto mal en tanto bien no cabe
> ni me viene del cielo esta ruina.
> Presto habré de morir, que es lo más cierto:
> que al mal de quien la causa no se sabe
> milagro es acertar la medicina. (*DQ* I. 23: 276)

The same poem is reproduced in *Ocho comedias*, in Act III of *La casa de los celos* (*CC*: ll. 1953-66), the only change being the substitution of the name of Angélica, which has associations with chivalric romance, since it appears in poems by Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato* and Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.[8] Cardenio has clearly collected the poem as an example of the commonplace of 'the cruelty of love', appropriate for summing up his feelings for Luscinda. The tables are not, however, a commonplace book, about which more will be written below, but rather intended for short-term storage, before the transferral of some or all of the contents to a more permanent medium.

A *libro de memoria* was, therefore, commonly used to make notes about one's reading. Sometimes, such notes would be made in the margins of books themselves, like those that provoke the mirth of the Moorish translator when he looks at Cide Hamete's manuscript in Chapter 9 of *Don Quijote*:

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[8] In *Orlando innamorato* Angelica, the princess of Cathay, is the cause of Orlando's madness (Díaz-Toledo 2005: 559). Similarly, Luscinda is the cause of Cardenio's insanity.

> Preguntele yo que de qué se reía, y respondiome que de una cosa que tenía aquel libro escrita en el margen por anotación. Díjele que me la dijese, y él, sin dejar la risa, dijo:
>
> —Está, como he dicho, aquí en el margen escríto esto: «Esta Dulcinea del Toboso, tantas veces en esta historia referida, dicen que tuvo la mejor mano para salar puercos que otra mujer de toda la Mancha». (*DQ* I. 9: 118)

In this case the note serves to gloss our reading of the novel as well as that of Cide Hamete. However, the problem with such marginalia was clearly one of finding the information. A far more efficient system of retrieval was provided by the commonplace book, in which one grouped one's thoughts about one's reading under headings, organized according to themes, a process described as follows by Erasmus:

> So, after you have prepared yourself a sufficient number of headings and have arranged them in whatever order you prefer, and have next subdivided them one by one into their appropriate sections and have labelled these sections with commonplaces, that is to say with short phrases, then, whatever you come across in any author, particularly if it is especially striking, you will be able to note it down immediately in its appropriate place (*suo loco annotabis*): be it a story or a fable or an example or a strange occurrence or a pithy remark or a witty saying or any other clever form of words or a proverb or a metaphor or a similitude. This will ensure both that what you read will stay fixed more firmly in your mind and that you will learn to make use of the riches you have acquired by reading. […] Whenever occasion demands, you will have ready to hand a supply of material for spoken or written composition, because you will have as it were a well organized set of pigeonholes, from which you may extract what you want. (Moss 1996: 111)[9]

Commonplace books were a central feature of humanist education, and pupils were required to compile their own and encouraged to use them as source material for their own compositions, both oral and written.[10] They were also, as was pointed out in Chapter 1, part of the reservoir of prepared material on which *commedia dell'arte* actors based their improvisations. As Gómez Canseco (2009: 6010) points out, Cervantes would have been exposed to humanist ideas both through his teacher Juan López de Hoyos and through his stay in Italy as a young man, so it is not surprising to find that

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[9] The translation is of a passage from *De copia* (Erasmus 1988: 260-01).

[10] 'Every Latin-literate individual started to compose a commonplace-book as soon as he could read and write reasonably accurately'(Moss 1996: viii).

his writing shows evidence of the kind of thinking one associates with commonplacing. Similar patterns of thought are also found in the characters he creates. Thus, Don Quixote, in the Sierra Morena, debates whether to imitate Amadís or Orlando (*DQ* I. 26; 317). Like the poem found in Cardenio's *librillo de memoria*, this is an example of the transposition of a commonplace theme, in this case that of the knight doing penance for his beloved, into the situation in which the character finds himself. The characters of *La entretenida* exhibit similar tendencies. Don Ambrosio, for example, likens the continual frustration of his search for Marcela Osorio to that which Sisyphus experienced (*LE*: l. 1557), while Marcela de Almendárez sees in the story of Tamar and Amnon a precedent that justifies her fear that Don Antonio might be harbouring incestuous feelings for her (*LE*: 503-04).

Commonplacing was a means whereby an author might engage not just with his own reading but with that of his readership, as Bouza indicates (2004: 50): 'Readers would complete the meaning of the text offered by the author by searching their own memory, so to speak, for the allusions and commonplaces the author used, which readers would "recognize," rather than learning as if for the first time.' Commonplacing is therefore an expression of the social aspect of memory, to which Weiss (2009: 151) has drawn attention in relation to *Celestina*: 'Memory never has a purely private function, however isolated it necessarily is as an act: fundamentally social in orientation, it is a means of linking the individual to a community.' Plays, of course, were written primarily for performance rather than for reading, as Lope makes clear in the dedication of *La campana de Aragon*: 'La Fuerça de las historias representada es tanto mayor que leída, quanta diferencia se aduierte de la verdad a la pintura, y del original, al retrato' (Vega 1623: fol. 208r).[11] However, as the editor of *Parte IV* of Lope's plays writes, one advantage of a printed edition of plays was that it enabled the reader to fully appreciate the inventive treatment of commonplaces:

> Aqui pues vera el Lector en estas doze Comedias muchas cosas sentenciosas, y graues, y muchas, aguda, y sutilmente dichas, que aunque es verdad que su Autor nunca las hizo para imprimirlas, y muchas dellas en menos tiempo que fuera necessario, por el poco que para estudiarlas les quedaua a sus dueños, no se dexa con todo esso de conocer la fertilidad de su riquissima vena, tan conocida a todos. (Vega 1614: 04v)[12]

[11] Cited by Chartier (1999: 55). The original folio number reads (incorrectly) '298'.

[12] Cited by Chartier (1999: 56).

Indeed, Lope recommends the practice of commonplacing to his son in the dedication of *El verdadero amante*: ‘en razon de la inclinacion, que fue el principio de esta carta no tengo mas que os aduertir, si no os inclinaredes à letras humanas, de que tengays pocos libros, y essos selectos, y que los saqueys las sentencias, sin dexar passar cosa que leays notable sin linea y margen' (Vega 1620: 196r).[13] In this respect, as Chartier indicates, a reader had an advantage over a spectator: ‘Only the readers of printed editions of the plays would be able to fully recognize, appreciate, copy down or memorize these rhetorical figures which govern the composition of the text. It was a strong reason for overcoming the traditional reluctance to print plays’ (1999: 58). In the *Adjunta al Parnaso* Cervantes refers to the same advantage of being able to absorb more slowly in print what can be missed in performance: ‘Pero yo pienso darlas a la estampa, para que se vea despacio lo que pasa apriesa, y se disimula, o no se entiende cuando las representan. Y las comedias tienen sus sazones y tiempos, como los cantares’ (*VP*: 314, ll. 137-40).

According to the passage from Erasmus quoted above, commonplacing could encompass both the macrocosmic (‘a story or a fable’) and microcosmic (‘an example or a strange occurrence or a pithy remark or a witty saying or any other clever form of words or a proverb or a metaphor or a similitude’). The metaliterary aspect of Cervantes’s writing reveals a similar tendency, with the result that some of the allusions to other literary forms are general in nature while others are highly specific. In *La entretenida* the most obvious references in the first category are to the *capa y espada* plays of the *comedia nueva* and to Roman comedy, particularly the plays of Plautus. Thacker (2007: 45) attributes ‘a precise set of ingredients’ to the *capa y espada* play, among which are love affairs in an urban setting, an *ingénu’s* arrival in the city, jealousy, ‘male posturing and even duelling’ and a resolution that involves marriage. The cast of characters, as was appropriate for theatre companies performing a large number of plays, was usually just as predicatable: *dama*, *galán*, rival suitors, ‘inflexible fathers or older brothers’, and a *gracioso*. We can recognize many of these ingredients in *La entretenida*, but Cervantes subverts the genre and prepares a completely different dish with them. Cardenio is a the antithesis of a hot-blooded lover, the jealous posturing involves the servants as much as their masters, and the play ends without any of the

[13] Cited in Chartier (1999: 57).

characters tying the knot, prompting Cristina to ask '¿No ha de haber un casamiento | en esta casa jamás? (*LE*: ll. 3000-01).

While much has been written about Cervantes's parodic intention in *La entretenida* vis-à-vis the *comedia nueva*, critics have paid little attention to the clear references to Roman comedy in the play. One exception is Canavaggio (1977: 116), who finds connections in the plot with three plays by Terence (*Andria*, *Heuton Timorumenos*, and *Hecyra*), and three by Plautus (*Menaechmi*, *Amphitryo*, and *Bacchides*), all of which involve confusion over identity similar to that which occurs in *La entretenida*. In *Bacchides*, as in Cervantes's play, that confusion is sown by the fact that two characters bear the same name. The influence of Plautus was probably by an indirect route. Timoneda's *Tres comedias*, published in 1559, not only contained adaptations of both *Amphitryo* and *Menaechmi*, but also, in the *introito y argumento* of the former play (Timoneda 1936: fols. 6r-7v), a reworking of a *questione d'amore* from the fourth book of Boccaccio's *Il filocolo,* which describes how a young woman, asked by her mother to demonstrate which of two suitors she loves the most, first crowns one of them with her own garland and then places on her own head a garland that one of the others is wearing (Boccaccio 1985: 245-47). Her actions lead to a dispute between the two men about whom she loves the most. The same *questione* finds its way into *La entretenida* in the scene from Act III in which Cristina, having been asked to choose between her admirers, accepts Ocaña's tattered handkerchief and gives her own to Torrente (*LE*: ll. 2183-2228).[14] Cervantes has substituted handkerchiefs for garlands, but the educated members of his audience would have recognized, and doubtless appreciated, the allusion. Clearly Cervantes had read the *Tres comedias*, but he would certainly have been familiar with the original plays as well, through their widespread dissemination in the school drama, which Grismer has documented (1944: 88-100).

There are other possible connections between *La entretenida* and some of the plays mentioned by Canavaggio. In *Andria*, the girl who gives her name to the play never appears. Nor does Philumena, one of the central figures in *Hecyra*, so Cervantes might have got the idea of his own absent heroine, Marcela Osorio, from Terence. Another link is that loss, assumption and restoration of true identity in both the Roman

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[14] It was Casalduero (1932: 181-87) who first pointed out the connection between *Il filocolo* and *La entretenida*. Crawford (1933: 319-22) then established the link with *Tres comedias,* but without acknowledging the connection between *Amphitryo* and *Menaechmi* and the plot of *La entretenida.* The dual connection of *Tres comedias* with *La entretenida* is strong evidence for refuting Zimic's claim (1976: 115) that Cervantes's inspiration was a play attributed to Lope, *Premio riguroso y amistad bien pagada*.

plays and *La entretenida* is connected with shipwreck or sea journeys. In *Andria*, for example, Glycerium turns out to be Pasibula, Chremes's daughter who was lost, feared drowned, in a shipwreck. The twins in Plautus's *Menaechmi* are also separated by a shipwreck, while in *Amphitryo* the hero returns from the wars by sea to discover that his identity has been usurped. In *La entretenida* Cardenio and Torrente feign involvement in a shipwreck in order to carry out their deception, while the real Don Silvestre journeys by sea from Peru, only to discover, on his arrival, that his identity has been stolen. He then sets about unmasking the imposter, ironically by pretending to be someone else himself. Ian McHugh has written eloquently about shipwreck in the works of Shakespeare in his programme notes for the 2005 RSC production of *The Comedy of Errors*, a play which, like *La entretenida*, bears the influence of both *Amphitryo* and *Menaechmi*:

> The image of destruction is ironically rich in creative value; the aftermath of the shipwreck leaves the survivors with nothing. They must begin anew – regeneration not merely an option but a necessity. A creative force is compelled into action, giving rise to a new life, a new world, which would not have been possible without an initial destructive force.

Cardenio and Torrente's shipwreck never actually happens, but they nonetheless 'begin anew', channeling their creative force into a scheme involving their assumption of new lives as New World characters.

It is interesting to compare the different ways in which Shakespeare and Cervantes rework their Plautine sources. *Menaechmi* impacts on the plot of *The Comedy of Errors* primarily in the theme of mistaken identity arising from the presence of twins with the same name. Shakespeare complicates the plot still further, by introducing an additional pair of twins. Although there are no biological twins in *La entretenida,* Cervantes engages with the theme of duplication by introducing two Don Silvestres, one of whom is Cardenio under a false name, two Marcelas and two *galanes*, Don Ambrosio and Don Antonio, whose names are similar enough to create further confusion. The cast list as it appears in the first edition (Cervantes 1615: fol. 168v) suggests that he planned to make matters even more complicated, since it includes a character called Anastasio and refers to Don Pedro Osorio as 'Ambrosio, padre de Marcela'. From *Amphitryo* Shakespeare borrows the theme of the master excluded from his house as a result of

someone else—Mercury in Plautus's play and Dromio of Syracuse in *The Comedy of Errors*—assuming his identity. Likewise, in *La entretenida*, Don Silvestre is effectively excluded from the house of Marcela de Almendárez, his cousin and betrothed, as a result of Cardenio's masquerade.

Both *Amphitryo* and *Menaechmi* would have been familiar to any English or Spanish person with a classical education. Indeed, when the *Comedy of Errors* received its first performance, it was immediately recognized as being 'like to Plautus his *Menaechmus*' (Shakespeare 2007: 215). For Shakespeare's audience, as Bates and Rasmussen have pointed out, this would have been a positive feature: 'Whilst we applaud difference, Shakespeare's first audiences favoured likeness: a work was good not because it was original, but because it resembled an admired classical exemplar, which in the case of comedy meant a play by Terence or Plautus' (Shakespeare 2007: 215). The same would have been true for Cervantes's readers too, for whom Roman comedy would have been just as important a reference point as the *comedia nueva*. Likeness did not, however, simply mean copying. As Riley has shown (1962: 58), in sixteenth century literary theory imitation was closely connected with invention, to the extent that little or no distinction was made between the use of the rhetorical terms *imitatio* and *inventio*. The latter was the quality in a writer that Cervantes prized above all others, as he reveals in the passage from *Viaje del Parnaso* that follows the one, referred to earlier, in which he boasts of his ability to 'mostrar con propiedad un desatino'.

> Yo soy aquel que en la invención excede
> a muchos; y al que falta en esta parte,
> es fuerza que su fama falta quede. (*VP* IV: 254, ll. 28-30)

The purpose of both Cervantes and Shakespeare would thus have been to write something that would surpass the original, by mixing in allusions to other literary sources, including other plays by Plautus, and by complicating the plot still further, thus creating scope for even more confusion.

Since *inventio* meant finding material in the storehouse of *memoria* (see p. 24), there was a clear connection between imitation and memory. The creative process involved reading, fixing the contents of one's reading in the memory, through techniques such as commonplacing, searching through one's memory through *inventio*

and then creating something new with the remembered material (*imitatio*). That material would also be familiar to one's readers or audience, and therefore part of a collective memory. The creative process was thus a profoundly social one, and if an author, engaged in the solitary activity of composition, wanted to reach out to the reading public and sell his books he needed to make liberal use of imitation. In the prologue to *Don Quijote*, the author's friend, finding him sitting at his desk, chin in hand, pondering how to continue, makes that very point: 'Solo tiene que aprovecharse de la imitación en lo que fuere escribiendo, que, cuanto ella fuere más perfecta, tanto mejor será lo que se escribiere' (*DQ*: 18-19). Ironically, that very position of the writer at his desk is imitative, since it recalls the the self-portrait that Rojas presents in the epistle 'El autor a su amigo', which prefaces the version of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* printed in Toledo in 1500. Weiss (2009: 151) has described it 'a vivid picture of the memory in action', one that demonstrates the social orientation of that activity:

> Asaz vezes retraydo en mi cámara, acostado sobre mi propia mano, echando mis sentidos por ventores e mi juyzio a bolar, me venía a la memoria, no sólo la necessidad que nuestra común patria tiene de la presente obra […] pero aun en particular vuestra mesma persona, cuya juventud de amor ser presa se me representa aver visto. (Rojas 1991: 183-4)

The imitation, deconstruction and reconstruction of literary models, including chivalric romance, the pastoral and Ariosto, to name but three, is, of course, the primary theme of *Don Quijote*, where the invention of the *ingenioso hidalgo* functions like a misguided version of that of his creator. The imitation of models, however, is not only a source of inspiration for author and hero alike. It is also a means whereby Cervantes connects with his readership, through shared literary references. A similar process of imitation operates throughout *La entretenida*, where several strands of literary discourse are woven into the fabric of the play, some of which have already been mentioned: the *comedia nueva*, Roman comedy, *Il filocolo* (via Timoneda), the traditional lyric, the *commedia dell'arte*, and *Celestina*. Two others that are particularly important are the proverb and the sonnet.

Proverbs are thought of primarily as an expression of oral culture, but they also have a metaliterary significance, since they were also available as material for reading. either in *refraneros* such as Nuñez's *Refranes o proverbios* (1592), in dictionaries such

as Covarrubias's *Tesoro,* or in works of literature such as *Don Quijote*. A reader encountering the phrase 'mi gozo está en el pozo' (*LE*: l. 2852), uttered by Don Antonio on discovering that Marcela Osorio has entered into a marriage agreement with Don Ambrosio, might well have thought of its appearance in Pleberio's lament at the end of *Celestina*, and perhaps have been struck by the irony of its transposition from a scene of genuine tragedy to one of pure comedy.[15]

The metaliterary significance of the six sonnets in the play, most of which have a burlesque quality, is open to question. Both Avalle-Arce (1959) and Laskier-Martín (1991: 115) have interpreted them as a parody of the use and abuse of sonnets by Lope in the *comedia nueva*. However, as Laskier-Martín herself acknowledges (116), they are just as likely to put the reader in mind of the love sonnets of Petrarch. They also recall sonnets and other poems that are found elsewhere in Cervantes's works. Don Antonio's sonnet, beginning '¡Ay dura, ay importuna, ay triste ausencia!', from Act I of *La entretenida* (*LE*: l. 539), closely resembles a poem in octaves in *La Galatea*, spoken by Crisio as part of an eclogue performed to honour Daranio's wedding (*GA* III: 352-53), while Ocaña's *cabo roto* sonnet is likely to remind one of the burlesque poetry included in the prefatory material to *Don Quijote* (DQ: 21-36).

The sonnets in *La entretenida* illustrate how Cervantes's metaliterary references point not only to other writers—in this case those of the *comedia nueva* or Petrarch—but also to his own work. Thus, in Chapter 6 of the first part of *Don Quijote,* one of the books subjected to scrutiny is his own *Galatea*. It survives burning, but is remanded in custody pending the final sentence, which will be pronounced when the sequel appears:

> Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes, y sé que es más versado en desdichas que en versos. Su libro tiene algo de buena invención: propone algo, y no concluye nada; es menester esperar la segunda parte que promete: quizá con la emienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega; y entre tanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada, señor compadre. (*DQ* I. 6: 94)

This kind of reference by Cervantes to his own work can often trigger a chain of associations in the reader. The popular song *Madre, la mi madre,* glossed with Cervantes's own verses, which accompanies the dance in *La entretenida* (*LE*: ll.

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[15] '¡Ay, ay, noble muger! Nuestro gozo en el pozo' (Rojas, ed. Russell: 594). The phrase also appears in Correas's *Vocabulario* (ed. Combet: 552).

2319-71), is also found, with one verse altered, in *El celoso estremeño* (*NE*: 357-58), the principal theme of which points back to *Ocho comedias*, to *El viejo celoso*. The protagonist of that *entremés*, Cañizares, is, in turn, linked to the nameless *vejete* of *El juez de los divorcios*, the complaints of whose long-suffering wife Mariana echo those of Lorenza at the beginning of *El viejo celoso.* The resemblance between these two old men is supported on a microcosmic level, since Mariana cites one of the reasons for her petition as 'el quitarme el sueño, por levantarme a media noche a calentar paños y saquillos de salvado para ponerle en la ijada' (*EN*: 99), while Cañizares's niece Cristina imitates the old man using similar vocabulary: '«Daca el orinal, toma el orinal, levántate, Cristinica, y caliéntame unos paños, que me muero de la ijada' (*EN*: 258). The way that Cervantes establishes connections in the reader's mind thus involves themes, characters, situations and words, and reflects the same concern with the macrocosmic and microcosmic that Erasmus recommended in the practice of commonplacing. However, there is also a social significance to this chain of associations, which extends beyond the sharing of memories of reading. In the case of *Madre, la mi madre*, Cervantes connects the theme of the lyric, that of the difficulty of containing female desire, with the related theme of the confinement of women in marriage, so the metaliterary allusions open up a dialogue with the reader about important social issues.

The resultant effect of all this self-referentiality is that Cervantes's writing, when viewed as a whole, appears as a nexus, a web of associations, in which the smallest unit of meaning can shed light on some other part. While each work has its own integrity, it can also be viewed as part of a larger tapestry, corresponding to Barthes's concept of an ideal textuality:

> The networks are many and interact, without any one of them being able to surpass the rest; this text is a galaxy of signifiers, not a structure of signifieds; it has no beginning; it is reversible; we gain access to it by several entrances, none of which can be authoritatively declared to be the main one. (Barthes 1974: 5-6)[16]

Wardropper, writing over thirty years ago, pointed to this interconnected quality in Cervantes's work: 'Pero lo importante es que, para comprender la Obra total, no se puede prescindir de ninguna de las obras individuales, por insignificante que

[16] Cited by Brown (2000: 121).

parezca' (1973: 148). It is precisely this quality that may also lead one to invert the terms of Wardropper's insightful remark, and state that in order to understand the individual works it is necessary to understand the work as a whole.

The technique of commonplacing was successful as an aid to the memory not only because it provided an ordered system of retrieval of information—from 'places' where that information had been deposited—but also because the chains of associations that resulted from it had the effect of strengthening the impression on the memory of each individual link. The purpose of the associations that Cervantes creates through the metaliterary nature of his writing is similar: to strengthen the reader's memory of what he and others have written. The idea of reinforcing memory by association with place is present in the earliest writings in memory, for example in Cicero's description of how the poet Simonides created the art of memory when, following the destruction of a banqueting hall, he was able to remember where each guest had been sitting.

> I am not, like Themistocles, of so retentive a genius as to prefer the art of forgetfulness to that of memory; on the contrary, I am grateful to Simonides of Ceos, the reputed originator of the system of artificial memory. It is related that on one occasion, when he was supping with Scopas at Crannon, in Thessaly, and engaged in reciting some verses which he had composed in honour of that very prosperous and noble personage, he introduced, by way of embellishment, much poetical allusion to Castor and Pollux. At the conclusion, Scopas told him, in rather too sordid a spirit, that only half the stipulated sum should be paid him for his poem, for the other moiety, he might look, if he chose, to the Tyndaridae, who had engrossed full half of the eulogy. Shortly after, a message was said to have been brought to Simonides, that he was wanted at the door, where two young men were eagerly inquiring for him; he immediately rose and went out, but saw nobody. In the short interval of his absence, however, the hall where Scopas was banqueting with his friends fell in, crushing him and the whole party to death, and burying them in the ruins. When the mangled remains could not by any means be identified by their friends, who came to recover the bodies, Simonides had so distinct a recollection of the exact spot occupied by each individual that he was able to give satisfactory directions for their interment. Taking a hint from this occurrence, he is said to have discovered that order was the luminous guide to memory, and that those, therefore, who wish to cultivate this faculty should have places portioned off in the mind, fixing in these several compartments certain images to represent the ideas they wished to remember; thus the

> order of places would preserve the order of ideas, and the symbols would suggest the ideas themselves – the places standing for the wax and the images for the letters.[17]

The same connection between memory and location is also found in Cervantes's writing, not only because its metaliterary aspect reflects the kind of thinking associated with commonplacing, but also because books, including 'books of memory', are frequently to be found in containers that are metaphors for memory. Mary Carruthers has pointed out how often, in the history of writings on memory, words meaning 'storage-room' or 'strongbox', such as *thesaurus*, *arca* and the Middle English *male*, are used to refer to both the container and the contents of memory (1990: 35). The image of opening such a container can be used metaphorically to convey the idea of 'the speaker-composer opening the organized compartments of his memory to disclose its store of riches' (Carruthers 1990: 41). In *The Canterbury Tales*, for example, just after the knight has told his story, Harry Bailly says 'This gooth aright; unbokeled is the male!' (Chaucer 2005: 114).[18] The *male* to which Chaucer refers is a travel bag with internal compartments, just like the *maleta* that appears in Cervantes's writing, where it has a similar metaphorical significance. Thus, in Chapter 32 of the first part of *Don Quijote* the travellers discover 'una maletilla vieja, cerrada con una cadenilla' at the inn of Juan Palomeque (*DQ* I. 32: 406). It contains the *Novela del curioso impertinente*, on 'ocho pliegos escritos de mano' and its unbuckling leads to the telling of that tale. Later, in Chapter 47 (*DQ* I. 47: 593), we discover that the same container includes amongst its treasures *Rinconete y Cortadillo,* in which story Cortado cuts open a 'valija o maleta' belonging to a French traveller, which also contains a 'librillo de memorias' (*NE*: 170). So a book of memory is contained within a store of memories ('maleta') within a book (*Rinconete y Cortadillo*) that is itself contained within a store of memories ('maletilla') contained within another story (*Don Quijote*). This nesting is a feature both of mnemotechnics and of the way we store information on a computer, folders within folders, allowing for easy retrieval. It is an entertaining pastime for the reader to open these containers and discover what lies within, which may, in some cases, be a story that is already familiar.

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[17] Cicero, *De Oratore* (55 BC), translated by F.B. Calvert (1878), in Harvey-Wood and Byatt (eds.) (2008: 188).

[18] Cited by Carruthers (1990: 41)

These metaphors for memory suggest that Cervantes may himself have used some system of artificial memory. The fact that he was clearly such an avid reader tends to obscure the fact that for substantial periods of his life, as soldier, hostage, itinerant civil servant and prisoner, books were not available to him. Nor would he have always enjoyed the luxury of being able to sit at a desk to write. Such circumstances make it quite plausible that he might, as Rico suggests, have kept his own *librillo de memoria*:

> «Aficionado a leer» hasta «los papeles rotos de las calles» (I, 9, 32) no le dolería escribir en otros no más escogidos: el golpe de inspiración o el hueco de unas horas muertas lo empujaría a coger las hojas descabaladas que tuviera a mano (por sus cuentas como comisario de abastos, sabemos que gastó bastantes reales en «papel y tinta»), cuando no a servirse de algún «libro de memoria», para consignar ahí nuevas aventuras del protagonista, historias «sueltas» y «pegadizas» (II, 44, 164 con significativa adjetivación), pequeñas adiciones o poesías destinadas al relato, que sólo después, en la ocasión propicia, insertaría en el original, sin tener siempre necesidad de copiarlas todas otra vez. (Rico 2005: 101)

The conditions in which Cervantes found himself may also have meant that he often composed in his head, and only later committed his ideas to paper. When he describes *Don Quijote*, in the prologue, as a stepchild that 'se engendró un una cárcel' (*DQ* I: 9), he may have been referring to something brought to an advanced embryonic stage rather than a mere seed, and it is possible that several other children were conceived in similarly unromantic places. Perhaps *Rinconete y Cortadillo* was composed on the same kind of dusty road in Andalucia where the *novela* begins, and then deposited in one of the compartments of the *maleta* of his memory. And if he wanted to choose a familiar building in which to place that *maleta*, as is recommended by all practitioners of the art of memory, then what could be better than an inn that he knew well, like the Molinillo or the one belonging to Juan Palomeque?

All Cervantes's writings are books of memory, recalling not only what he has read but what he has written. What is always apparent is the breadth of that reading, with the result that, just as *Don Quijote* refers to several different genres besides the novel of chivalry, including the picaresque, the pastoral, the Italian *novella*, the adventure romance and the ancient verse epics, so *La entretenida* demonstrates Cervantes's engagement with a number of literary forms besides the *comedia nueva*, including Roman comedy, Boccaccio, *Celestina*, the Petrarchan sonnet and the traditional lyric. It

is contained within a larger book of memories, *Ocho comedias y entremeses, nunca representados*, a collection retrieved, and reconstructed, from another metaphor for memory, the *cofre* to which he refers in the prologue: 'no hallé autor que me las pidiese, puesto que sabían que las tenía; y, así, las arrinconé en un cofre y las consagré y condené al perpetuo silencio' (*LE*: 14). Weiss's comment on Carruthers's description of how, in the medieval period, texts were 'socialized' by their transmission through communities of readers is also highly relevant to the Early Modern period and, in particular, to our understanding of Cervantes: 'What mattered was not the written, but the writing; not the book as an end in itself, or self-contained product, but the book as part of a chain of knowledge, linked to other books through acts of reading and composition, all bound together 'in a dialogue of textual allusions and transformations' (Weiss 2009: 155). Rico has, indeed, made a similar point in relation to *Don Quijote*: 'el Quijote fue gestándose encauzado por los lectores y en progresivo diálogo con ellos, en una manera de colaboración social' (2005: 305-06). The metaliterary references in *La entretenida* are therefore both source material for the author's *invención* and a means of forging connections with his readers. However, the social purpose of these metaliterary allusions is not simply to establish an intimate relationship with the 'querido lector', for Cervantes, in establishing with the reader a 'dialogue of textual allusions and transformations', also seeks to open up a debate about issues of social concern.

4

A Social Comedy

Diálogo entre Babieca y Rocinante

B. ¿Cómo estáis, Rocinante, tan delgado?
R. Porque nunca se come, y se trabaja.
B. Pues ¿qué es de la cebada y de la paja?
R. No me deja mi amo ni un bocado. (*DQ* I: 35)

The poem from which the above extract is taken is one of the burlesque sonnets included in the prefatory material to *Don Quijote*. The metaliterary associations it conjures up are numerous. This imagined conversation between the horses of Don Quixote and El Cid might put the reader in mind of the fables of Aesop, the frontier ballad, or poems by either Góngora or Quevedo.[1] A reader already familiar with the *Novelas ejemplares* would naturally also think of the *Coloquio de los perros.* The poem is an extremely funny one, featuring the kind of wordplay that Cervantes delighted in ('B. Metafísico estáis. R. Es que no como.'). However, the humour is of the black variety. Rocinante is overworked and starving, and it will not do any good for him to complain, since both the servants—the *escudero* and the *mayordomo*—and his lovesick master are just as skinny as he. Rocinante inhabits a world where the serving classes experience severe hardship while their masters engage in idle pursuits.

There are a number of connections between the sonnet and *La entretenida*. In the play the horses are, of course, neither seen nor heard, but we sense their presence from the very first moment, since Ocaña, the footman entrusted with their care, appears on stage in the first scene carrying the sieve that he will give to Cristina for the collection of the oats ('la cebada'). To begin with it seems, therefore, that these horses are better cared for than Rocinante. However, later in the same act (*LE*: l. 585) Ocaña interrupts his master in the middle of reciting awful love poetry to announce that there is not enough money to shoe the bay. Moreover, Ocaña is short of rations himself, and he is by no means the only servant who is feeling the pinch. The *escudero* Muñoz is similarly

[1] *Murmuraban los rocines* (Góngora 1982: 248-55); *Tres mulas de tres doctores* (Quevedo 1970: vol. 2, pp. 464-67).

impoverished, and the dire straits in which he finds himself have a significant bearing on the plot, since he betrays his mistress for a couple of gold escudos and the promise of a warm coat to stave off the cold of the Madrid winter. The Almendárez household has clearly fallen on hard times, which explains why Don Antonio is so keen for his wealthy Peruvian cousin to marry his sister Marcela.

However, the connections between the *Diálogo* and *La entretenida* go much deeper than subject matter. What is of particular interest in this chapter is the way that the metaliterary aspect of Cervantes's writing becomes a vehicle for social comment and a means of expressing dissent. Babieca is associated with the image of Spain's glorious past—an image that results to a large extent from the construction of a myth around historical events—and with 'la idea de entrega y lealtad a la voluntad del caballero ejemplar que representaba la figura de Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar' (Soria 2006: 1036). While Babieca is a symbol of an idealized view of Spain, supported by a mythologizing process, Rocinante reminds us of the harsh reality of everyday life. Their dialogue, which Cervantes invites the reader to share, calls into question both past and present. A similar process is at work in *La entretenida*, a play in which literary forms are subverted and deconstructed in order to focus attention on social issues. Several critics have touched on the first part of this process, for example by highlighting the way in which the play parodies the *comedia nueva*. A few, most notably Mariscal (1994) and Friedman (1980), have explored its social significance. The intention here is to demonstrate how these two aspects of *La entretenida*—its metaliterary quality and its social dimension—are connected, and to show how that connection provides yet another example of the close relationship between life and literature in the play.

Flecniakoska's statistical analysis reveals that the servants play six of the ten principal parts and speak 2039 of the play's 3080 lines (1972: 18). That shifting of focus below stairs may be part of Cervantes's intention to subvert the genre of the *capa y espada* play, and amend the 'precise set of ingredients' to which Thacker refers (2007: 45). It might equally be attributable to the influence of Roman comedy, for it is not only elements of the plot that can be traced back to Terence and Plautus, but also the notion of a world turned upside down, and seen from the perspective of the wily slaves, like Davos in Terence's *Andria* or the protagonist of Plautus's *Pseudolus*, who appear to control the action and take the audience into their confidence. Cervantes, however, complicates matters by introducing *three* characters who, at various points in the play,

operate as wily slaves: Muñoz, who hatches the scheme to introduce the student Cardenio into the Almendárez household, Torrente, Cardenio's *capigorrón*, who modifies Muñoz's plan without telling him, and Ocaña, the co-writer of the elaborate hoax that is perpetrated in the interlude.

Whether it stems from a desire to subvert the formula of the *comedia nueva* or from the influence of Roman comedy, a principal effect of this shift in focus is to direct our attention towards those who are most exposed to material hardship. The very first scene begins innocently enough, with a quarrel between Ocaña and Cristina, occasioned by the former's jealousy of the page Quiñones. However, after Cristina exits to fetch the oats, Ocaña's monologue illustrates the social tensions inside the Almendárez household, painting a picture of a world in which the servants supplement their meagre wages by thieving from their masters, and are, in turn, exploited by servants higher up the pecking order. The pages extort money from the kitchen-maids, taking their cut of whatever is pilfered ('la media nata deste común beneficio') and, it is implied, using stolen goods to procure sexual favours:

OCAÑA ¡Oh pajes, que sois halcones
destas duendas fregoniles,
de su salario alguaciles,
de sus vivares hurones!
Lleváisos la media nata
deste común beneficio;
dais en ella rienda al vicio,
sin hallar ninguna ingrata:
gozáis del justo botín
y de la limpia chinela,
y os reís del arandela
y del dorado chapín;
hacéis con modos süaves
burla que os cuesta barata
de aquellas lunas de plata
que van pisando las graves. (*LE*: ll. 93-108)

By using the term 'media nata' to describe what kicks back to the pages, Cervantes hints at the corruption in the system of benefices operated by both church and state.[2] Another interesting feature of Ocaña's diatribe is the rhetorical nature of its mode of expression. Rhetoric, the vehicle par excellence for ordered speaking, becomes the means of describing a breakdown of order, thus creating a dissonance between form and content.

We are not told at this point why the servants steal, but as the play develops it emerges that material hardship, in the form of cold, hunger and poverty, is a constant presence in their lives, and that the desire to overcome it is so powerful that they will resort to any kind of deceit or treachery to improve their lot. The Madrid of *La entretenida* is the centre of a country in decline, in which, as Ife reminds us (2002: 28), the twin pressures of high inflation and increased taxation have led to a mass migration of the poor from the countryside to the cities, and to a growing urban underclass, subject to severe economic hardship: 'The lucky ones were able to scrape a hand-to-mouth existence from casual labor in manufacturing or service; many had recourse to begging, prostitution, or organized crime'. Spadaccini and Talens, writing of the *entremeses*, note that 'beneath the jocular and festive rhythm of Cervantes's farces, through the eccentric dialogues of the character types, there lies a series of ideas about a society in crisis' (1993: 41). The *entremeses* do, indeed, present a news bulletin of contemporary socio-political issues: including divorce, infidelity, crime, prostitution, bureaucratic incompetence, the hostage crisis in North Africa, and *limpieza de sangre.* What is true of the interludes is also true of the longer plays, and the picture of society that emerges in *Ocho comedias* is far from an idealized one.

Cervantes, described in 1615, in Márquez Torres's *aprobación*, as 'viejo, soldado, hidalgo y pobre' (*DQ* II: 670), was no stranger to poverty himself, despite being the most famous writer of prose fiction in Europe. Mariscal (1994: 222, n. 21) notes that 'within the patronage system, writers were considered to be another kind of *criado*', and that Cervantes, in the dedication to the Count of Lemos in *Ocho comedias* signs himself 'Criado de V. Esc'. Living in Madrid at the time of publication of the plays, he had ample opportunity to observe the marginalized social underclass at close-quarters, and he references their material concerns throughout *La entretenida*, often using material

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[2] '**Media Annata**. La mitad de los frutos, ò emolumentos que en un año rinde qualquiera Dignidad, Prebenda, ò Beneficio Eclesiástico: y tambien se extiende à la mitad del valór y emolumentos de qualquier empléo honorífico y lucróso temporal, que en España paga al Rey aquel à quien se le confiere' (*Aut* I: 300b).

objects, in the form of props, to reinforce the text. Props therefore often acquire both artistic and social significance. The piece of quince that Torrente sucks on when we first encounter him (*LE*: ll. 245-90), is not only a sexual symbol, but also a means whereby he attempts to relieve his hunger pangs.[3] Excusing himself in the face of Cardenio's expression of displeasure, he uses a proverb to contrast the role of food in the lives of the rich and the poor:

TORRENTE Las acciones naturales
son forzosas, y el comer
una dellas viene a ser,
y de las más principales;
y esto aquí de molde viene,
y es una advertencia llana:
come el rico cuando ha gana,
y el pobre, cuando lo tiene. (*LE*: ll. 271-78)

The use of the *refrán*, a medium of popular wisdom, gives a timeless quality to Torrente's description of the gulf that separates the haves and the have-nots: it has always been thus and will always be so.

It is not, perhaps, unusual for a downtrodden, starving servant to provide comic relief in a Golden Age play. What, however, is unusual in *La entretenida* is the accumulation of the images of impoverishment, and the fact that material hardship becomes a reason for betraying one's master and mistress, and therefore one of the main motors of the plot. Thus, the servant Muñoz, who appears just a few lines after Torrente's speech, in the same scene (*LE*: l. 290), is prepared to provide information to help Cardenio and Torrente gain entrance to his mistress's house in exchange for a gold escudo and the promise of a flannel coat. Once again Cervantes specifies a prop to reinforce the impact of the words, since Muñoz kisses the coin he receives before pocketing it. Moreover, in performance there are ample opportunities to further emphasize his material motivation through costume and gesture, for example by having him appear on stage without a coat, shivering or rubbing his hands together in reaction to the cold. As Zimic (1976: 39-40) notes, Maravall's observation about the servants in *Celestina* (1964: 596) could well be applied to Muñoz: 'Su desvinculación moral del

[3] 'Membrillo. La etimologia de membrillo traen algunos del diminutivo de la palabra *membrum*, por cierta semejança que tienen los más dellos con el miembro genital y femineo' (Cov*:* 798b, l. 22).

señor llega a ser radical: es enemigo suyo; no pretende ayudarle, sino conseguir su propio provecho, aun perjudicando a aquél, y hasta procurando sistemáticamente su daño; no es fiel, por tanto, sino aprovechado'.

Cristina's allegiance can also be bought, as is demonstrated by the scene in which Don Ambrosio, mistakenly believing she works for Marcela Osorio, bribes her with a painted box to leave a letter where her mistress might notice it (*LE*: ll. 716-51). Although aware of his error, she makes no attempt to disabuse him, and slyly accepts his gift, describing it as a 'Potosí', the site of a silver mine in Peru. It is a word used no less than four times by Cervantes in the play, with a number of possible meanings. Here, and on the other two occasions it is used by servants (Muñoz at l. 962 and Ocaña at l. 1746) it signifies riches beyond one's dreams. When used by Don Ambrosio to Cardenio, whom he mistakenly believes to be Don Silvestre, it is a term that expresses the contempt of the old aristocracy for money acquired through trade in the Indies: 'Vuélvete a tu Potosí' (*LE*: l. 1366). For Cervantes, and probably for his readers too, it also had more sinister connotations. Acosta (1962: 149) had described Potosí as a boom-town, whose plazas were filled with 'frutas, conservas, regalos, vinos, excesivos, seda y galas', but he had also mentioned the nightmare conditions in which men toiled in order to retrieve silver from the 'entrañas del profundo', a phrase echoed by Cervantes when he refers to 'las entrañas de Potosí' in *Persiles* (*PS* III. 9: 521).[4] The word Potosí may, therefore, also imply a criticism of Spanish policy in the Indies.

Potosí is just one of several references in the play to the New World, which, for the serving classes, acquires a mythical status, and becomes a focus for projections of their fantasies of a better life. Torrente, vying with Ocaña for Cristina's affection, compares his suit with that of his rival in terms of the contrast between the harsh reality of daily life in Spain, and 'Cucaña', an imagined land of milk and honey:

TORRENTE ¿Que es posible que no precies
los montones de oro fino,
y por un lacayo indino
un perulero desprecies?
¿Que no quieras ser llevada
en hombros como cacique?
¿Que huigas de verte a pique

[4] The quotation from Acosta is cited by Wilson (2000: 91-92).

de ser reina coronada?
¿Que por las faltas de España,
que siempre suelen sobrar,
no quieras ir a gozar
del gran país de Cucaña? (*LE*: ll. 1679-90)

The legend of Cucaña, or Cockaigne, is a pan-European one, which can be traced back as far the 13th century (*Brewer*: 259). According to *CORDE* the earliest reference in Spanish literature for which an approximate date can be given is in a poem from the early part of the fifteenth century, by Juan Alfonso de Baena.[5] Cucaña is also mentioned in the *Romancero* (ed. Durán 1851: no. 1, 733).[6] It eventually became synonymous with Jauja (Xauxa), the name of an area of Peru famous for its riches, as is apparent from an eclogue by Juan de la Cueva, written between 1577 and 1604, which Cervantes may well have known, in which reference is made to 'la patraña | que cuentan los burlescos escritores | de la tierra de Xauxa i de Cucaña' (ed. Cebrián 1988: 74).[7] He certainly would have known the *Paso quinto* by Lope de Rueda, in which a simpleton, Mendrugo, is robbed of his food while being distracted by wondrous tales of Xauxa (1981: 157). As Jehenson and Dunn have noted, an interesting feature of Rueda's treatment of the theme, and Cervantes's development of it, is that the spectator/reader, rather than being invited to share the fantasy, becomes a witness to the deception that is at its heart:

> Rueda exposes the lie on which Cockaigne-like fantasies are based. More importantly, he enables a static, future-less fantasy, with dialogic possibilities that Cervantes will exploit in Don Quixote. Cervantes shows the reader, as Rueda had done before him, the very process by which deception is perpetrated on the credulous. It is the product of their own desires. The laborer Sancho Panza, for example, is led from the start by Don Quixote's promises of social ascent coupled with the accompanying allurements of a life of ease. (Jehenson and Dunn 2006: 65)

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[5] 'Señor alto, Rey de España, | pues tenemos tales juezes | que miren nuestros jahezes, | si venimos de Alimaña | o de Chipre o de Cucaña, | mande vuestra señoría | que pierdan malenconía | e tomen plazentería, | sin enojo e sin zizaña, | ca la burla non rascaña' (Baena 1993: 637).

[6] Cited by Jehenson and Dunn (2006: 54).

[7] '**cucaña**. […] coloq. **jauja**.' (*RAE* I: 702); '**jauja**. (por alus. a *Jauja*, valle del Perú, famoso por la riqueza de su territorio). f. Denota todo lo que quiere presentarse como tipo de prosperidad y abundancia.' (*RAE* II: 1316).

The allusion to Cucaña in *La entretenida* also invites the spectator to witness the delusion behind the myth, but with a new twist, for it is not just Cristina who is seduced by the fantasy. In the preceding scene it becomes clear that the desperate nature of Torrente's circumstances, coupled with his total immersion, in the style of a method actor, in his assumed role, as the servant of a rich *perulero*, have caused him, like his master Cardenio, to begin to delude himself that they really *are* about to be made wealthy by a shipment of gold from the Indies, much to Muñoz's exasperation:

CARDENIO Cuando yo, Muñoz, os falte,
cuando yo no os haga rico,
jamás del Pirú me venga
el mi esperado tesoro.
MUÑOZ ¡Que no me vuelva yo moro,
y que yo paciencia tenga
para escuchar lo que escucho!
¿Dónde está el oro, señores
socarrones, embaidores?
TORRENTE Muñoz, que ha de venir mucho.
MUÑOZ ¿De qué Pirú ha de venir,
de qué Méjico o qué Charcas?
TORRENTE Cuatro cofres y seis arcas
puedes desde luego abrir
para echar cuatro mil barras,
y aun son pocas las que digo. (*LE*: ll. 1645-60)

Cervantes's appropriation of the Cucaña myth thus involves a confusion of fiction and reality on two interrelated levels, social and artistic. On the one hand Torrente is unable to distinguish the utopian fantasy from the harsh reality of his material circumstances, while on the other hand he cannot separate the role he is playing, in a metatheatrical sense, from his real self.

In actuality Torrente, like the other servants, is separated by a huge gulf from the kind of riches that he imagines. Our sense of that gap is reinforced by the way in which Cervantes, in a departure from the conventions of the *comedia nueva*, depicts the worlds of the masters and servants in *La entretenida* as essentially separate. 'Los dos planos no llegan a fundirse tan estrechamente como en la fábula dramática lopesca, sino que se desenvuelven paralelamente y sólo se relacionan de una manera tangencial' (Cervantes

1962: xli).[8] Quiñones's words, following Don Antonio's opening speech to his sister Marcela, could sum up the attitude of the privileged towards those in their employment throughout the play:

QUIÑONES	Aún no han echado de ver	
	que estamos aquí nosotros.	(*LE*: ll. 177-78)

Cervantes frequently emphasizes this separateness by subversion of poetic form. Thus, in the second scene of Act II, Torrente's sonnet is spoken in fragments, interspersed with the exchange of social niceties between Don Antonio, Cardenio (masquerading as Don Silvestre), and Marcela, who do not notice either the poem or Ocaña's jealous commentary, which is also delivered as a monologue:

TORRENTE	Pluguiera a Dios que nunca aquí viniera;	
	o, ya que vine aquí, que nunca amara;	
	o, ya que amé, que amor se me mostrara,	
	de acero no, sino de blanda cera...	
CARDENIO	Depositario fue el mar	
	de tus cartas y presentes.	
OCAÑA [*Aparte*.]	¡El alma tengo en los dientes!	
	¡Casi estoy para espirar!	
TORRENTE	...O que de aquesta fregonil guerrera,	
	de los dos soles de su hermosa cara,	
	no tan agudas flechas me arrojara,	
	o menos linda y más humana fuera.	
MARCELA	Entrad, señor, do podáis	
	mudar vestido decente.	(*LE*: ll. 1168-81)

Traditionally the sonnet is an elevated poetic form that reflects the ability to perceive a complex reality and condense it. It therefore represents a world in miniature, and the self-contained nature of that world is accentuated by the fact that it is usually delivered as a monologue, in a moment of quiet reflection. Torrente, dressed as a smelly, scruffy pilgrim, is the last person one would expect to deliver a sonnet. Having misappropriated the form, he is quite unable to contain his thoughts within it, and does not pronounce them in private, but with the other characters going about their business, seemingly

[8] Cited by Sevilla Arroyo/Rey Hazas (*LE*: XXIV).

oblivious to his presence. His sonnet is completed, albeit unconsciously, by Don Antonio, whose *estrambote*, although intended for Cardenio, makes ironic reference to Torrente's inability to frame his thoughts within the customary poetic structure of fourteen lines:

TORRENTE ¡Oh, tú, reparador de nuestras vidas,
Amor, cura las ansias de mi alma,
que no pueden caber en un soneto!
DON [ANTONIO] A no ser tan perfecto,
primo, vuestro designio, yo hiciera
que por otra persona se cumpliera. (*LE*: ll. 1191-96)

Through his fragmentation of the sonnet, and by showing us the servants and masters occupying separate, parallel performance spaces, Cervantes undermines the absolutist ideology that the different strata of society are somehow organically related and reveals a world that is disintegrated.

Whenever these disparate worlds of masters and servants do collide in *La entretenida*, the result is always dissonance, and that lack of social harmony is communicated not only by what is said but also by the form in which it is expressed. Thus, when Don Antonio's monologue is interrupted by Ocaña's request for money to shoe the horse, the contrast between their respective situations, with the former at leisure to spout dreadful poetry while the latter goes short of funds to care for the horses or feed himself, is made starker by the abrupt transition from the Italianate, and comparatively rarely used, *octava real* to *redondillas*, the staple form of the *comedia nueva*:

DON [ANTONIO] Amor, que lo imposible facilitas
con poderosa fuerza blandamente,
allanando las cumbres,
¿por qué las nubes de mi sol no quitas?
¿Por qué no muestras por algún Oriente
las dos hermosas cumbres
que dan rayos al sol, luz a tus ojos,
por quien te rinde el mundo sus despojos?
¿Qué quieres, Ocaña?
OCAÑA Quiero

herrar el bayo, señor,
y no acierta el herrador
a herralle si no hay dinero. (*LE*: ll. 577-88)

Once again Cervantes makes a social point by subverting a literary tradition. Don Antonio's soliloquy, which ought to offer him a moment to reflect in private, is interrupted by Ocaña's mundane concerns. A similar effect is created at the end of the the first sonnet of the play, when Cardenio suddenly becomes aware that, while he has been drawing comparisons between himself and Icarus, Torrente has been chewing on a stick of quince to keep his hunger pangs at bay:

CARDENIO Caerán mis atrevidos pensamientos,
del amoroso incendio derretidos,
en el mar del temor turbado y frío;
pero no llevarán cursos violentos,
del tiempo y de la muerte prevenidos,
al lugar del olvido el nombre mío.
¿Comes? Buena pro te haga;
la misma hambre te tome.
TORRENTE No puede decir que come
el que masca y no lo traga. (*LE*: ll. 253-62)

The tensions between master and servants are particularly apparent in the opening scene of Act II, and once again Cervantes invokes a literary precedent in order to expose them. Cristina's complaints about the meanness of her employers and the mental and physical abuse to which she is subjected are strikingly similar to those voiced by Areúsa in Act IX of *Celestina*. Both servants bridle at accusations of thieving, prostitution and sexual impropriety with the master of the house. Moreover, the resemblance between the two scenes is more than merely thematic, and extends to linguistic detail, as a comparison of the following two passages shows:

> Nunca oyen su nombre propio de la boca dellas; sino ¡"puta" acá! ¡"puta" acullá! "¿A dó vas tiñosa?" "¿Qué heziste, vellaca?" "¿Por qué comiste esto, golosa?" "¿Cómo [no]fregaste la sartén, puerca?" "¿Por qué no limpiaste el manto, suzia?" "¿Cómo dixiste esto, necia? "¿Quién perdió el plato, desaliñada?" "¿Cómo faltó el paño de manos, ladrona? ¡A tu rufián lo havrás dado! ¡"Ven acá, mala muger! La gallina havada no

paresce: pues ¡búscala presto, si no, en la primera blanca de tu soldada la contaré! (Rojas 1991: IX. 3, 416)

CRISTINA «Ven acá, suciona.
¿Dónde está el pañuelo?
La escoba te hurtaron
y un plato pequeño.
Buen salario ganas;
dél pagarme pienso,
porque despabiles
los ojos y el seso. (*LE*: ll. 1028-35)

Both passages are, of course, laced with irony. The servants in *Celestina* are hardly models of virtue, and the fact that Areúsa is a prostitute means that Cristina's demeanour of wronged innocence is undermined through association with a literary antecedent of dubious morality. Moreover, the questionable reputation of the profession of *fregona* would have made her indignant protestations seem even more humorous for an Early Modern audience.[9] Marcela's accusations are reported by Cristina as if they were unjust:

CRISTINA Eres, en fin, pu…
El *ta* diré quedo
porque de cristiana
sabes que me precio. (*LE*: ll. 1040-43)

However, they would seem to be not entirely groundless, in view of what Ocaña says in the *cabo roto* sonnet at the end of the same Act, especially since the truncation of the word 'puta' creates an explicit connection with Cristina's speech:

OCAÑA Así rendí-, forzado estoy a cre-
cualquier mentí- de aquesta helada pu-,
que blandamen- me satisface y hie-.[10] (*LE*: ll. 840-42)

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[9] 'La *fregona* «sirve en la cocina y friega los platos y demás vasijas» (*Autoridades*) en las ventas y mesones, donde podían y solían dedicarse a otros menesteres, como la prostitutión; se trata de una ínfima categoria social que choca desde el principio con el adjetivo *ilustre* ('noble'), donde se apunta a una elevación social impropia de las fregonas, contradicción que forma parte de la intriga novelesca' (*NE*: 371)

[10] With the missing syllables completed the lines would read as follows: 'Así rendído, forzado estoy a creer | cualquier mentíra de aquesta helada puta, | que blandamente me satisface y hiere.'

The scene involving Cristina and Marcela is an example of the way in which Cervantes invites the reader or spectator to view life through literature, but at the same time subjects that view to a refracting lens. Areúsa's complaint is made while sharing a meal with Sempronio, Pármeno, Elicia and Celestina, She makes the point that no servant would dare to air their grievances in front of her mistress: 'Denostadas, maltratadas las traen, contino sojuzgadas, que hablar delante dellas no osan' (Rojas 1991: IX. 3, 415). Cervantes, however, appropriates the theme in such a way as to bring servant and mistress into open confrontation, since Cristina not only protests in front of Marcela, but even apes her in the process. Areúsa has chosen to live 'en mi pequeña casa, esenta y señora, que no en sus ricos palacios, sojuzgada y cativa' (IX. 3: 416-17), but Cristina remains within the Almendárez household, seething with discontent. The conversation she has with Dorotea in the interlude indicates that she would be only too ready to exploit any indiscretion committed by her mistress. Dorotea's rejoinder, which shows that she is of the same mind, seems to refer back to the *Celestina*-inspired scene, and is a display of treacherous intent made even more brazen by the fact that Marcela is watching:

CRISTINA Si ellas fueran
resbaladoras de carcaño, acaso
tropezaran aquí y allí rodaran;
y, sabiendo nosotras sus melindres,
tuviéramos la nuestra sobre el hito:
ellas fueran las mozas, y nosotras
fuéramos las patronas a baqueta,
como dice *il* toscano.
DOROTEA Verdad dices:
que el ama de quien sabe su criada
tiernas fragilidades, no se atreve,
ni aun es bien que se atreva, a darle voces,
ni a reñir sus descuidos, temerosa
que no salgan a plaza sus holguras. (*LE*: ll. 2272-84)

According to Anderson (2010: 6), Dorotea and Cristina's awareness that the mistress-servant relationship is based on self-interest 'destabilizes the *comedia's* traditional conflation of all classes of women into one gender marker, that designated Woman. Women in this view support one another regardless of class. Cervantes would seem to

be opting for greater verisimilitude, recognizing the potential for feminine conflict between classes.'[11]

Commenting on the influence of Rojas on Cervantes, Snow writes that 'much as *Celestina* marks the end of the vogue for sentimental fiction—one may think of it even as anti-*Cárcel de amor* in its inversion of the prevailing courtly paradigms—so *Don Quijote* inverts reigning chivalric paradigms' (2008: 84). However, as Cascardi argues(2002: 72), it is more than one literary model that is inverted in the *Quijote*, and the same is true of *La entretenida*, which parodies other literary forms besides the *comedia nueva.* The reference to Boccaccio's *Il filocolo* is, in fact, an inversion of a courtly paradigm of the same kind as Snow detects in *Celestina*, and with the same purpose of rejecting sentimentality and making a social comment. Cristina is a kitchen-maid, unlike the lady of Boccaccio's story (Boccaccio 1985: 245-47), and her suitors are not two handsome young men of noble birth, but a footman and a *capigorrón*. The maiden of Filocolo's tale gives and receives a garland of flowers while at a feast. Cristina gives a handkerchief to a half-starved Torrente and receives a tattered one from Ocaña in return. The disparity between the social standing of Cristina and her literary forbear is clear. As in the case of the reference to *Celestina*, the purpose behind the parody is social as well as artistic.

Maravall states that 'la comedia quiere desplegar ante su abigarrado y mezclado público un panorama de oportunidades de promoción que a todos por igual se ofrecen' (1990: 35). He cites as an example the following exchange between Teodoro, the secretary who is in love with his mistress, and his servant Tristán, from Lope's *El perro del hortelano*:

TRISTÁN	Pienso que te desvaneces	
	con lo que intentas subir.	
TEODORO	Tristán, cuantos han nacido	
	su ventura han de tener;	(Vega 1981b: ll. 1410-13)

The theatre, Maravall contends, functions to support the prevailing social order by conveying the illusion that social advancement is possible, even for those of lowly birth, while the picaresque, on the other hand, presents a picture of a closed society.

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[11] In referring to the traditional presentation of relationships between women in the *comedia nueva* Anderson cites Yarbro-Bejarano (1994: 21).

Cervantes, however, in highlighting the gulf between rich and poor in *La entretenida*, does not offer any prospect of social mobility. Ocaña remains in the stables, Torrente is thrown out of the house, along with Cardenio and Muñoz, Cristina is rejected by both Quiñones and Ocaña, and Dorotea remains unmarried. Those of lowly birth can triumph, but only in the world of the stage. Thus, as in *Pedro de Urdemalas*, whose hero can be whatever he wants to be as an actor, the servants do experience freedom in the fictional world of the interlude—to such an extent, in fact, that they cause havoc within the Almendárez household. The appeal from Don Antonio that precedes the entertainment—'Quiera Dios que la fiesta corresponda | al buen deseo de los recitantes' (*LE*: ll. 2229-30)—seems particularly ironic in the light of what we have already discovered about the shady purposes of many of the actors and scriptwriters. In spite of Marcela's instruction that the entertainment should be 'discreto, alegre, y cortés' (l. 2059), Dorotea and Cristina immediately signal their intention to dance themselves into a frenzy (ll. 2251-52). They announce that the other serving girls from the vicinity, Aguedilla, Julianilla and Sabinica, are also going to let their hair down, once they have finished their chores (ll. 2253-58), and, after the musicians change from playing a *romance* to a *seguidilla* (l. 2318), it turns out that the *fregonas* are as good as their word.

According to the Grove Dictionary of Music, the *seguidilla* was, in Cervantes's time, a 'provocative street song and dance'.[12] Reference is made to its unbridled, sensual nature in Chapter 38 of the second part of Don Quijote:

> Pues ¿qué cuando se humillan a componer un género de verso que en Candaya se usaba entonces, a quien ellos llamaban «seguidillas»? Allí era el brincar de las almas, el retozar de la risa, el desasosiego de los cuerpos y finalmente el azogue de todos los sentidos.
>
> (*DQ* II. 38: 1031)

Little wonder then, that in the script of the interlude Ocaña and Torrente should react so jealously to this lascivious dance:

OCAÑA Ya les he dicho que bailen
a lo templado y honesto:

[12] Jack Sage and Susanna Friedmann, 'Seguidilla' *Grove Music Online*/*Oxford Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25331> [accessed 2 December 2011].

que no gusto que se beban
de las niñas el aliento. (*LE*: ll. 2236-39)

However, the dancers and musicians reject the attempts to restrain them. Indeed, the words of the song refer to the impossibility of containing female desire.

MÚSICOS Madre, la mi madre,
guardas me ponéis;
que si yo no me guardo,
mal me guardaréis. (*LE*: ll. 2319-20)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the same song appears in *El celoso estremeño*, a story that also concerns the difficulty of policing women, and in a similar context, as an accompaniment played by the intruder Loyasa for a dance performed by the women of the house, most of whom are servants. Cervantes's choice of form is highly appropriate, since, while cultured styles of poetry, such as the sonnet, were generally used to articulate male interests, the traditional lyric, as both Cruz (1992: 146) and Weiss (2004: 168) have noted, was used to voice female concerns. Although not necessarily composed by women it provided what Mary Gaylord (1982) has referred to as a 'grammar of femininity', and what Weiss (168) has described as 'imagined models of female desire and utterance'. Before the interlude begins the spectator will already have heard six sonnets, all of them spoken by men—Cardenio (ll. 245-58), Don Antonio (ll. 539-52 and ll. 1817-30), Torrente (ll. 1168-93), Don Ambrosio (ll. 1269-85) and Ocaña (ll. 1803-16)—and all of them subverted in one form or other. The traditional lyric is now used to highlight one of the most important social issues raised in the play: the freedom of women. In the context of the interlude that freedom is represented by the dance, which, in its brazen expression of female sexuality, seems to throw into question Sears's argument (2000: 55-56) that women who act lasciviously—the 'lustful ladies' or the 'wild child' according to her four categories of Cervantine female characters—always arouse the author's antipathy or disapproval. The space that Cervantes constructs in the interlude appears to celebrate female desire rather than seek to deny it.

In the wider context of the play the words of the popular lyric refer to the question of women's freedom as it concerns the two Marcelas and to the unsuccessful attempts of the men to police female behaviour. In a society that was so concerned with blood,

women, who were perceived as the carriers of the bloodline, were regarded as commodities that needed to be closely guarded. In Ife's words, 'rich, powerful men do not want their carefully accumulated assets accidentally transferred to another man's son' (2002: 26).[13] As Mariscal points out (1994: 215), Marcela de Almendárez alludes to this process of commodification of women when, subjected to scrutiny by Don Antonio, Don Ambrosio and Don Francisco, she enquires '¿O me compran o me venden?' (*LE*: l. 1468). Like all women of noble birth in Early Modern Spain, Marcela de Almendárez is mostly confined to the house, and the only time she leaves is to attend mass. In her case Cervantes alters the scenario described in the lyric to make her appear more vulnerable. It is not her mother who places guards on her honour, since both her parents are apparently deceased, but her brother Don Antonio. Ironically, the very person assigned to protect her, the *escudero* Muñoz, is the same person whose treacherous plan to allow Cardenio into the house has exposed her to the risk of the loss of her honour. Cardenio, however, finds that her virtuous nature leaves him tongue-tied and incapable of taking his amorous intentions any further:

CARDENIO Su honestidad y hermosura
ponen en mi intento pausa.
Al cabo habré de morir
callando. (*LE*: ll. 2874-77)

Like Leonora in the later version of *El celoso estremeño*, who virtuously resists Loyasa once he has penetrated Carrizales's seemingly impregnable fortress, the guard that Marcela Almendárez places on her own honour is thus more effective than any physical obstacles that are placed in the way of possible intruders by her self-styled protectors.[14]

What happens to Marcela Osorio, Cervantes's absent heroine, also demonstrates the failure of the male characters to police the behaviour of the women in their care. Like her namesake, she is also motherless, but she does have a father, Don Pedro, who

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[13] The male anxiety about their goods being damaged was not without foundation, since young unmarried women, even of noble families, did face serious threats to their honour, which Cervantes alludes to in *Persiles y Sigismunda*: 'que andaban en la corte ciertos pequeños que tenian fama de ser hijos de grandes, que, aunque pájaros noveles, se abatían al señuelo de cualquier mujer hermosa, de cualquier calidad que fuese: que el amor antojadizo no busca calidades, sino hermosura' (*PS* III. 8: 510).

[14] 'Pero, con todo esto, el valor de Leonora fue tal, que, en el tiempo que más le convenía, le mostró contra las fuerzas villanas de su astuto engañador, pues no fueron bastantes a vencerla, y él se cansó en balde, y ella quedó vencedora y entrambos dormidos' (*NE*: 362). In the Porras version of *El celoso estremeño* Carrizales's young wife Isabela does, in fact, succumb to Loyasa's advances (*NE*:707).

has placed her in a convent, where he believes her to be out of harm's way. The manner in which he speaks of her to Don Antonio, his preferred choice as a future son-in-law, indicates that, like Marcela de Almendárez, she is also regarded as a commodity:

DON PEDRO — En ella le daré esposa
bien nacida, cual se sabe,
y aun estremo adonde cabe
el mayor de ser hermosa;
una niña a quien apenas
el sol ni el viento han tocado;
un armiño aprisionado
con religiosas cadenas;
una que son sus cuidados
de simple y tierna doncella;
y ofrezco en dote con ella
de renta dos mil ducados. (*LE*: ll. 2784-95)

Marcela Osorio, however, in open defiance of her father's wishes, and as befits the daring quality suggested by her name, refuses to be contained by the 'religiosas cadenas' to which he has subjected her and enters into a marriage contract with Don Ambrosio. Her story is thus another version of a theme that clearly preoccupied Cervantes, since, as Anderson points out (2010: 1), it occurs in four of the *Ocho comedias*: 'a motherless heroine tries to escape from a conceptual or physical prison created by her father or by a father-substitute in order to achieve a marriage opposed to the one arranged for her by that father'. Thus, in *El gallardo español*, Doña Margarita escapes from a convent where she has been placed by her brother Don Juan and gains a husband of her own choosing against the wishes of Vozmediano, the tutor who is her guardian, while in *El gran sultana* Doña Catalina's decision to marry Amurates incurs her father's displeasure. In *El laberinto de amor* Rosamira is imprisoned in the first Act, and Julia and Porcia are sequestered by Julia's father. All three succeed in getting their man through resorting to role play. What is common to these different situations, and to the gloss that Cervantes gives to the traditional lyric in the interlude and in *El celoso estremeño*, is the idea that constraint inflames rather than suppresses desire:

MÚSICOS Dicen que está escrito
y con gran razón,
que es la privación
causa de apetito. (*LE*: ll. 2327-30)

That gloss is remarkably similar to the passage in *El laberinto de amor* in which Julia describes how she fell in love with with Manfredo:

Avivóme el deseo
la privación de lo que no tenia
—que crece, a lo que creo,
la hambre que imagina carestía—; (*LA*: ll. 1631-34)

It is interesting to relate these passages about the difficulty of controlling women to one that Breitenberg mentions (1996: 191), which appears in *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, written anonymously in 1593: 'If it were possible to know their thoughts, it were likely their practices might be hindered; but as long as *secreta mihi* reignes, the rains of their liberty are at their own pleasures' (Furnivall 1876: 35). As Breitenberg notes, 'the passage points out the inadequacy of scopic regulation because the thoughts of women are unfortunately unknowable' (1996: 191). A marginal note presents another version of the same idea: 'You cannot watch over her mind; though you lock up everything and shut out everyone, the adulterer will be within. […] Argus had a hundred eyes on his face, a hundred on his neck, and a single love often deceived them' (Breitenberg 1996: 191).[15] The metaphor of the 'rains' and the reference to Argos are particularly relevant to *La entretenida*, because the play begins with Ocaña holding a bridle, and then, out of jealousy, attempting to control Cristina's behaviour, and because Don Ambrosio, describing his frustrated attempts to find Marcela Osorio, declares 'un lince habré de ser con ojos de Argos'. However, neither Cristina, nor Marcela Osorio, can be 'reined in'. The latter is not even contained by the stage, since, in her case, Cervantes explores the issue of the attempts by men to restrain female desire with the woman *in absentia*. That makes it possible for him to bring into sharper focus the extent to which women were not only excluded from negotiations about their lives but also excluded from society as well. Marcela Osorio has, after all, been placed in a convent. Her absence also means

[15] The original note, which is in Latin, can be seen in Furnivall (1876: 35).

that Cervantes can further develop an important theme of the play, one that also pertains to the over-arching issue of the tension between fiction and reality, which is that men tend to relate to images of women rather than real women. Don Silvestre's opening lines, for example, delivered while he looks at a portrait of Marcela de Almendárez, indicate that for him she is merely an object of desire, whom he will reject if she fails to live up to the image he holds in his hands:

DON SILVESTRE Si no llega al retrato su hermosura,
y della ha declinado alguna parte,
podrá buscar en otra su ventura. (*LE*: ll. 2528-30)

Neither Don Antonio nor Don Ambrosio carry a portrait of Marcela Osorio, so their images of her, and to a large extent those of the reader/spectator too, are the result of a fantasy projection. The medium for that projection is their clumsy poetry and rhetoric, which parodies the language of love. Real life is less appealing than the fantasy that can be woven around an actual or mental picture. Thus, when Don Antonio discovers that he may have to resort to a legal process to win the hand of Marcela Osorio, his interest cools dramatically:

DON ANTONIO Doncella de escritorios,
de públicas audiencias,
de pruebas y testigos,
no es para mí. (*LE*: ll. 2860-63)

For Anderson (2010: 2), Marcela's non-appearance means that she is 'imprisoned in the text'. However, the space beyond the stage that she occupies is one that, rather than confining her, seems to allow her a greater degree of freedom, since from there she exercises her free will and exerts a powerful influence on the action of the play. Indeed, in a sense she writes her own text, in the form of the marriage agreement that Don Ambrosio flourishes triumphantly at the beginning of the final scene of the play. It is a contract signed in Marcela's own blood, the most valuable currency of Early Modern Spain, and thus a symbolic affirmation of her right to control her own body. Marcela Osorio is a character who breaks the mould, and not simply by virtue of the fact that she never appears on stage. It is not uncommon for a woman in a Golden Age play to

choose a partner who does not meet with parental approval. What is, however, uncommon is for the tension between father and daughter to be unresolved, as it is in *La entretenida.*[16]

McKendrick (1994: 74) expresses disappointment with Cervantes's portrayal of female characters in *Ocho comedias*: 'His sympathy with that famous *mujer esquiva* of Spanish letters. Grisóstomo's Marcela, indicates acute awareness of the injustice of the accepted attitudes that governed relations between the sexes. The expectations his prose works create, however, are not fulfilled in his drama.' While neither of the Marcela characters conform to the model of the *mujer esquiva* as described by McKendrick, they are nevertheless *esquiva* in a different sense. Both assert their right to self-determination in contrasting ways: Marcela de Almendárez by choosing to remain chaste and Marcela de Osorio by choosing to marry a man who does not meet with her father's approval. One protects her inner space, while the other asserts her independence in an external space, beyond the play. Whereas the *mujer esquiva* would traditionally succumb in the end, neither of the Marcelas shows any sign of submitting to male authority. On the contrary, it is Marcela de Almendárez who takes control of the reins at the end of the play, passing out sentence on the malefactors and letting Don Silvestre know that, despite his earlier declaration that he does not wish to remain a moment longer in the house (*LE*: ll. 2294-95), he is going to stay there, whether he likes it or not:

MARCELA Con licencia de mi hermano
y de mi primo, yo quiero
sentenciar al escudero
y al gran embustero indiano.
Trocará la mano el juego
a cuyas leyes me arrimo:
quedarse ha en casa mi primo,
y él se salga della luego. (*LE*: ll. 3020-27)

Neither of the Marcelas behaves as the audience might expect of one of the leading ladies of a Golden Age play, and both break with the principle of decorum, in the two senses of the word as defined by Valdés, thus providing a further example of how social and artistic subversion converge. The extent to which these two characters defy

[16] According to Díez-Borque (1976: 94), Lope 'nunca plantea una oposición irreconciliable padre-hija'.

categorization reflects the unconventionality of Cervantes's approach throughout the play. If one thinks of these two characters as projections of the female part of Cervantes's inner self then one may also understand the refrain of *Madre*, *la mi madre* —'que si yo no me guardo | mal me guarderéis'— as a reference to the artist's refusal to be constrained by the conventions of the *comedia nueva* and to produce the kind of play that the actor-managers were demanding.

The atmosphere of the final scene of *La entretenida* is muted and anticlimactic. The mood darkens and the characters exit one by one, without having realized any of their hopes or ambitions. Comparing the 'frustrated plans' of *La entretenida* with the 'happy endings' of *El laberinto de amor*, Friedman (1980: 158) describes what happens as a 'collective failure'. However, the question of success and failure is linked to gender, since both Marcelas are able, in different ways, to assert their right to self-determination. It is the men who fail, both in their attempts to control the lives of women and in their inability to move beyond their verbal posturing to have relationships that are anything other than superficial. The final words of the play, spoken by Ocaña, may well be interpreted as part of an intention to avoid the stereotypical endings of the *comedia nueva*, but they also have wider, social significance, pointing both to a lack of desire of those involved and the failure of individuals to overcome the obstacles that stand in their way. Marriage, Cervantes appears to be saying, should be based on love, and not a matter of either artistic or social convention:

OCAÑA Esto en este cuento pasa:
los unos por no querer,
los otros por no poder,
al fin ninguno se casa. (*LE*: ll. 3080-84)

McKendrick (1994: 172) has written of the social significance of the endings of Golden Age plays in the following terms:

> It is in the seventeenth century that the hierarchal order of society, with its delegation of authority from God through the king down to the head of each family, is particularly emphasized and it is in the seventeenth century drama that marriage is used at the end of a play as a symbol of the restoration of the good order of society. The seemingly haphazard batch of marriages with which nearly every plot is brought to an end is not

> merely an empty convention employed as an easy solution to the action; it reflects a philosophy of life, the belief that continuing security depends on order.

The endings of many *comedia nueva* plays do not therefore so much reflect life as represent an idealized view of it, one which strengthens the official ideology. They have a social, as well as artistic purpose, and are an expression of what Maravall terms a 'guided culture' (1975: 131-75). However, as much as Maravall insists on the all-pervasive nature of that guided culture he also concedes that there were some voices of dissent (1975: 198). In *La entretenida* and elsewhere in *Ocho comedias,* Cervantes, by eschewing the artistic convention, makes an important social point and shows himself to be one of those voices of opposition. Spadaccini and Talens make a similar point in relation to the *entremeses*: 'Unlike the ritual denouement of the new comedy, in which any kind of social, moral, or political transgression is dealt with in a manner that results ultimately in the reaffirmation of the values and interests of the established monarcho-seigneurial order […}, the internal structure of the *entremeses* reveals a lack of genuine resolution of conflict' (1993: 26). This sense of tensions continuing beyond the end of the play is another aspect of the lack of closure that has already been noted in relation to *La gran sultana* and *Pedro de Urdemalas.* It is felt not only in *La entretenida*, where the dispute between Don Pedro and his rebellious daughter remains unsettled, but also in *La casa de los celos*, another play of thwarted hopes and expectations. There the duel with Argalia never takes place, Marfisa's challenge to the 'doce pares' is not taken up, and Roldán's fight with Bernardo is stopped by the intervention of Merlin. The way in which conflict is postponed creates a sense of anticlimax that is acknowledged in the ending of the play, which seems to invite a sequel:

REINALDOS Cuando con victoria vuelvas,
crecerá tu gusto y fama,
que por ahora nos llama
fin suspenso a nuestras selvas. (*CC*: ll. 2753-56)

In *Los baños de Argel* the lack of resolution is linked to documentary fact, since Cervantes knows, from bitter personal experience, that the suffering of the hostages in Algiers continues, and in this sense the play, which is a kind of docu-drama, can have no ending:

DON LOPE No de la imaginación
este trato se sacó,
que la verdad lo fraguó
bien lejos de la ficción.
Dura en Argel este cuento
de amor y dulce memoria,
y es bien que verdad y historia
alegre al entendimiento.
Y aún hoy se hallarán en él
la ventana y el jardín.
Y aquí da este trato fin,
que no le tiene el de Argel. (*BA*: ll. 3082-93)

The avoidance of neat, contrived endings is one of the ways that Cervantes defies convention in order to create theatre that is lifelike. Concerning the painting of Velázquez, Ortega y Gasset wrote that 'la realidad se diferencia del mito en que no está nunca acabada'.[17] Maravall (1975: 442) described that technique of incompleteness as a kind of *anamorphosis*—defined by Castillo (2001: 1) as 'curious, magic or secret perspective'—that required the spectator to complete the image. It is exemplified by *Las meninas*, in which Velázquez moves beyond the frame of the painting, fixing the spectator with his gaze, and at the same time inviting him to enter the artist's world. Castillo develops the concept in relation to Cervantes: 'Cervantes focuses on "the incomplete" in order to rethink the nature of representation (literary and otherwise) and to challenge the reader to reflect on the arbitrariness of commonly held beliefs about the world—including well-established Christian notions' (2001: 17). The concept of anamorphosis harmonizes well with the aforementioned idea of the 'refracting lens' that Cervantes applies to the different literary forms that he references in *La entretenida* and elsewhere in his writing, which also involves a shift in perspective and requires the spectator or reader to re-examine his or her view of the world in order to complete the picture. Ironically, this quality of incompleteness, which makes his theatre so engaging, may well have been one of the principal reasons why the actor-managers could find no place for his plays in the *corrales*. In order to rescue them for posterity, Cervantes had to have recourse to another kind of container—the printed book.

[17] Cited by Maravall (1975: 443, n. 52)

II

THE PRINTING OF *OCHO COMEDIAS*

5

The Circumstances of Production

Traditional textual theory took as its prime objective to publish a text that reflected the final intentions of the author, but in the last four decades this view has been questioned or modified by the argument that the work is the product not only of the author's pen but also of the agencies responsible for its diffusion. This is most apparent in the case of a play text, which may be mediated by the intervention of actors, directors and designers. However, novelists also have to subject their work to the action of intermediaries such as censors, publishers, editors and typesetters, and recognition of the influence that these parties can exert has had profound implications for bibliography. McKenzie, in his seminal work *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* and in his subsequent writings, proposed that the meaning of a book was located not just in the intentions of the author, but in 'the intentions and actions of all those involved in its production and reception' (2002: 6) and that text is 'a complex structure of meanings which embraces every detail of its formal and physical presentation in a specific historical context' (2002: 206). Some years previously Close had made a similar case in the field of Cervantes scholarship, arguing that authorial intention needed to be understood 'against a background of human conventions, expectations, practices and procedures' and 'in terms of the function it has by its conformation to that wider context' (1972: 28).[1] These views have been supported by the historian Roger Chartier, who has proposed that the understanding of a text is at least partially dependent on the forms in which it is transmitted, and that we must therefore distinguish between two sets of mechanisms: 'the ones that are part of the strategies of writing and the author's intentions, and the ones that result from publishing decisions or the constraints of the print-shop' (1994: 9).

There are no surviving autographs of Cervantes's works, so scholars have always had to take the first printed editions as a point of departure for study of the texts. Rico, in the introduction to his detailed study of the printing of *Don Quijote*, relates how textual criticism of Cervantes has been dogged by excessive reverence for the *princeps* (2005: 17-19). Indeed, the very use of this term *princeps*, a Latin word meaning 'the

[1] Cited by McKenzie (2002: 208).

first', in time or order, is symptomatic of that reverence, and arguably inappropriate for describing a copy of a printed edition, of which no two examples are likely to be similar in every detail. Rico goes on to point out several examples of the results of such extreme reverence (2005: 20). Gaos, for example, retains 'tan bienandantes sean ellos para *castigo* como lo han sido para conmigo' (Cervantes 1987: vol. I, p. 637), while the Flores edition has 'boba fuera Quiteria en desechar *las las* galas y las joyas' (Cervantes 1988: vol. II, pp. 159-60).[2] Lathrop has even constructed a theory of authorial intent around the incorrect numbering of Chapter XLV as Chapter XXXV in the first part of *Don Quijote* and the fact that there are two chapters numbered VI in the second part.[3] Rico succinctly summarizes the problem when he states that the fact that these first editions are irreplaceable does not necessarily mean that they are accurate, and that we should be suspicious of the first edition rather than affording it unlimited credibility (2005: 95). An attitude of critical detachment, rather than reverence, is required. In this spirit it is possible to conduct a forensic examination, not just of the text itself, but of every detail of the book within which it is contained, all the time bearing in mind the circumstances of its production and reception.

The forensic examination begins with the title page. Chartier has referred to the state of dependence in which the writer creates, and shown how the title page of *Don Quijote* reveals the various interested parties—the royal council, the patron, the printer and the bookseller—who make publication possible (1994: 44-46). The same is true of the title page of *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*. The name of Cervantes's patron, the Count of Lemos, with all his titles, is accorded considerably more prominence than that of the author himself, occupying nine lines of type (*OC*: fol. 0tp). The words 'Con privilegio' tell us that the book has been granted a royal license for publication, while at the foot of the page we are informed that the book has been printed by 'la viuda de Alonso Martin', a woman who has been identified as Francisca Medina (Gómez 2009: 6174), at the expense of the bookseller Juan de Villaroel, both of whom were significant players in the drama of the book's gestation. The next two pages (*OC*: fols. 02r-02v) contain the summaries of the terms of the license and the pricing of the book (*suma del privilegio* and *suma de la tasa*), the list of

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[2] The two passages are from Chapter 31 of the first part (*DQ* I. 31: 402) and Chapter 20 of the second part (*DQ* II. 20: 863)

[3] Cervantes 1999b: vol. 1, pp. xix & 369 and vol. 2, pp. 471 & 476. Cited by Rico (2005: 21).

errata (*fe de las erratas*), and the approval from the censor (*aprobación*). It is the sort of material that is often omitted from the front matter of a modern edition, presumably on the grounds that it is of no interest to the contemporary reader. However, if one takes the trouble to peruse this information one discovers a fascinating connection between *Ocho comedias* and the second part of *Don Quijote*, which may help to answer a question which Rico raises about the printing of the latter volume, as well as providing an insight into the working practices of both Cervantes and Spanish printers of the time.

One can usually estimate the time that a book is in production from the interval between the granting of the license for publication and the *tasa*. In the case of the second part of *Don Quijote* a period of over six months elapsed from the granting of the *privilegio*, on 30th March 1615 (*DQ* II: 672), to the calculation of the *tasa*, on 21st October 1615 (*DQ* II: 663). That period was more than twice that of the corresponding one for the first part—a significantly bigger book produced by the same print-shop, the one that still carried the name of Juan de la Cuesta, even though la Cuesta himself had moved from Madrid to Sevilla in 1607 (Moll 2006: 3020). The length of time cannot be ascribed to a slower rate of production, since there are more errors—almost double the number—in the second part. Rico was unable to find any other reason for the delay than bad luck (2005: 210). He does not, however, take into account the dates of production of *Ocho comedias*, which provide a significant clue as to the real explanation. Returning to the *preliminares* of the volume of plays, one finds that the *privilegio* for that volume was granted on 25th July 1615 and that printing was completed by 13th September, which means that while *Don Quijote* was in preparation Cervantes became involved in an even bigger project, the publication of a collection of eight full-length plays and eight interludes, which was produced at another print-shop and financed by a different publisher, Juan de Villaroel.

The reason for the placing of the plays with another publisher and printer may lie in what Cervantes himself says in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*, concerning the *librero* who told him that he would have bought the plays had it not been for the derogatory remarks of an ‘autor de título’ about the quality of Cervantes’s poetry (see p. 51). Was that bookseller Francisco de Robles, who published both parts of the *Quijote* and *Novelas ejemplares*, but not *Ocho comedias*, nor the posthumously produced *Persiles y Sigismunda*, both of which were financed by Villaroel? If so, did Robles’s negative opinion of the plays lead to a deterioration of a relationship that may already

have been strained by the ridicule that Cervantes had been exposed to on account of the notorious errors in the first and second editions of *Don Quijote*? If all that were true, was the the signing of the agreement with Villaroel and the shifting of focus to the production of *Ocho comedias* Cervantes's way of demonstrating that he would not allow Robles's views to deflect him from his artistic objectives? Could the delay in the publication of the *Segunda parte* be attributed to the fact that Cervantes was distracted by the other project?

These are interesting hypothetical questions, and answering all of them in the affirmative would certainly provide a dramatic backdrop to the printing of the two volumes. However, the explanation of the overlap between the two projects may be more prosaic, and located in an essay written by McKenzie entitled *Printers of the Mind* (2002: 13-85). Although this study related to the Cambridge University Press at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, the size of the print-shop and of the editions printed there make the findings relevant to Golden Age Spain. McKenzie found that 'productive conditions of enormous complexity involving as many as ten or a dozen jobs at any one time were normal in a small two-press house' (57), and that concurrent production was the most efficient way of running a print-shop, but not necessarily the most efficient way of bringing to completion a single work (27-28). Apart from the fact that they were based on extensive documentary evidence, McKenzie's findings appeal to commonsense. Concurrent production is, after all, the way that printers continue to work, for the very good reason that it is the only way to run that kind of business profitably. It is strange, therefore, that Garza Merino (2000: 72-73) should assert that, in general, once agreement had been reached, no other work would be accepted by the print-shop until one contract had been completed. The evidence relating to the business that carried Juan de la Cuesta's name and the printing of the second part of *Don Quijote* reveals a quite different picture, and one which completely endorses McKenzie's view, for in 1615 the la Cuesta shop was busy with two large and prestigious jobs that would have competed significantly with work on Cervantes's book: the *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*, by the royal historiographer Antonio de Herrera, a work in four volumes, for which the *privilegio* was granted on 3rd October 1614, but which was not completed until 1st August 1615 (Pérez Pastor 1906: 334-35); and a reprint of Nebrija's *Dictionarivm Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Grammatici*, a work of over eight

hundred and fifty pages, the *fe de erratas* of which is dated 24th July 1615 (Pérez Pastor: 345). The first of these two projects would have taken some seventeen working weeks to complete, and the second twelve weeks. One also has to take into account the fact that between December 1614 and early March 1615 the la Cuesta printing house was busy with another work by Herrera, his translation of Tacitus entitled *Los cinco primeros libros de los Annales de Cornelio Tacito* (Pérez Pastor: 370), and that it also took on the *Compendio de los Metheores del Principe de los Filosofos Griegos y Latinos Aristoteles* by Francisco Murcia de la Llana, Corrector of Books by Royal Appointment between 1609 and 1635, who signed the *fe de erratas* for all of Cervantes's books apart from *Galatea* (Garza Merino 2011: 8246), and who signed off his own book on 13th October 1615 (Pérez Pastor: 343-44), just eight days before he put his name to the *preliminares* of the *Segunda parte*.

The above evidence shows that the la Cuesta print-shop was operating the same system of concurrent production that McKenzie discovered in his study of the Cambridge printing house, and in 1615 had a very full order book. In all likelihood, work on the *Quijote* did not even begin until after the production of Herrera's history in four volumes had been completed, at the beginning of August 1615. It is probable therefore that Cervantes, seeing the production of the *Quijote* delayed by the other commitments of the la Cuesta printing-house, decided to turn his attention to the publication of his plays. It may well have been true that Robles, who financed the printing of the *Segunda parte*, was sceptical about the marketability of his client's drama, but in any case circumstances dictated that Cervantes needed to find another printer. Moreover, he would doubtless have been happy to have his plays produced by Medina, who had completed printing of *Viaje del Parnaso* in November of the previous year and who, just three months previously, at the beginning of April 1615, had finished production of the *Sexta parte* of Lope's plays (Vega 1615).[4] What better recommendation could there be than having been the printer of choice of Cervantes's celebrated rival? In any case, there is strong evidence to suggest that Cervantes, aware that, in view of his age and poor health, time was running out for him, had long since adopted his own version of concurrent production as the best option for realizing his artistic ambitions. In the prologue and dedication to *Ocho comedias* he refers to no less

[4] The date of the *fe de las erratas* for *Viaje del Parnaso* is given as 10th November 1614 (*VP*: 44), while the *tasa* of the *Sexta parte* is dated 3rd April 1615 (Vega 1615: fol. 02v).

than five other works that are in preparation: a play entitled *El engaño a los ojos*, the second part of the *Quijote, Persiles y Sigismunda*, *Las semanas del jardín*, which was probably a collection of short stories, and the second part of *Galatea*. The reference to the play, if we consider the context in which it is made, may well be a joke at the expense of the *autor* who had disparaged his plays:

> En topando a aquel mi maldiciente autor, dile que se emiende, pues yo no ofendo a nadie, y que advierta que no tienen necedades patentes y descubiertas, y que el verso es el mismo que piden las comedias, que ha de ser, de los tres estilos, el ínfimo, y que el lenguaje de los entremeses es proprio de las figuras que en ellos se introducen; y que, para enmienda de todo esto, le ofrezco una comedia que estoy componiendo, y la intitulo *El engaño a los ojos*, que, si no me engaño, le ha de dar contento. (*LE*: 15)

However, if we accept that what Cervantes writes about the other projects is true—and since we know that two of them were completed, we have no reason to dismiss it as merely a grandiose claim for the benefit of his patron—then it would have been in his own interest to have more than one publisher and printer.

Once the link between the production of the second part of the *Quijote* and *Ocho comedias* is recognized, the discussion of the printing of the first part of the novel in the early chapters of the *Segunda parte* and the visit to the print-shop in Chapter 62 become highly relevant to our understanding of the circumstances surrounding the production of *Ocho comedias*, and it is therefore appropriate to discuss these passages in greater detail.

The printing of *El ingenioso hidalgo* is the vehicle for the metafiction of its sequel, since the existence of the book is the means whereby Don Quixote and Sancho become aware of their own celebrity, as the latter informs us in Chapter 2 of the second part:

> Anoche llegó el hijo de Bartolomé Carrasco, que viene de estudiar de Salamanca, hecho bachiller, y yéndole yo a dar la bienvenida, me dijo que andaba ya en libros la historia de vuestra merced, con nombre del *Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha,* y dice que me mientan a mi en ella con mi mesmo nombre de Sancho Panza, y a la señora Dulcinea del Toboso, con otras cosas que pasamos nosotros a solas, que me hice cruces de espantado cómo las pudo saber el historiador que las escribió. (*DQ* II. 2: 702-03)

The printing of the first volume is also, however, *part* of the metafiction, since the reality of its production is woven into the fabric of the story. In Chapter 4 of the second part, for example, when Sansón Carrasco observes that the fault with the narrative of the theft of Sancho's ass consists in the fact that 'antes de haber parecido el jumento dice el autor que iba a caballo Sancho en el mismo rucio', the squire remarks that 'el historiador se engañó, o ya sería descuido del impresor' (*DQ* II. 4: 716). It is particularly interesting to note how fiction and reality are fused in Sancho's comment: the fault is either with the fictitious chronicler Cide Hamete or with Juan de la Cuesta, the actual printer of both volumes. The significance of all this for the reader's perception of the novel has been noted by Chartier (2007: 42):

> In *Don Quixote*, the reality effect produced by the text stems not only from the fact that Cervantes, as Borges notes, sets his story amid "the dusty roads and sordid inns of Castille" rather than the "vast and vague geography of the Amadis."[5] It comes, in the first place, from the constant interchange between the fiction and the technical and literary circumstances in which it was composed (in both senses of the word composed: aesthetic and typographical).

In *Don Quijote* this link between the print process and the story is explicit, but in *Ocho comedias* it is implicit: we read the plays with the knowledge, gleaned from the prologue, that they only survive because they have been printed, rescued from the oblivion of the *cofre* of Cervantes's memory.[6] The fact that the technology of print allows the plays to survive for posterity and a hoped for re-evaluation of their worth cannot, however, diminish the profound ambivalence that Cervantes feels about print, which he expresses early in the second part of *Don Quijote*:

> Muchas veces acontece que los que tenían méritamente granjeada y alcanzada gran fama por sus escritos, en dándolos a la estampa la perdieron del todo o la menoscabaron en algo.
>
> —La causa deso es —dijo Sansón— que, como las obras impresas se miran despacio, fácilmente se veen sus faltas, y tanto más se escudriñan cuanto es mayor la fama del que las compuso. (*DQ* II. 3: 713)

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[5] 'A las vastas y vagas geografías del Amadís opone los polvorientes caminos y los sórdidos mesones de Castilla' (Borges 1960: 65).

[6] See p. 82.

If Cervantes, in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*, is keen to stress an advantage of the medium of print, which allows the reader to appreciate at his or her leisure what passes quickly in performance (*VP*: 314, ll. 137-40), then here he dwells on a major disadvantage. The faults to which Sansón Carrasco refers include the error in the narrative of the theft of the donkey, alluded to above. For Chartier (2007: 34) these textual inconsistencies 'point up the similarities that exist between Cervantes' writing and certain practices of orality'. However, while such errors may be part and parcel of the episodic, oral approach to storytelling in which Cervantes excelled, once fixed in print they can put the author at risk of being held up to ridicule. Unlike the writing tables that Cervantes probably carried with him, the printed book cannot be wiped clean. Lope de Vega, for example, was certainly not inclined to let his rival off the hook for any oversight. In Act III of *Amar sin saber a quién* he refers not just to the original mistake, but to Cervantes's attempts at exculpating himself, when the *gracioso* Limón, on losing an ass, says:

> Dezidnos della, que ay hombre
> que hasta de vna mula parda
> saber el sucesso aguarda,
> la color, el talle, y nombre:
> O si no dirán que fue
> oluido del escritor. (Vega 1635: fol. 166r)[7]

A similar *olvido* led to a misplaced scene in *Pedro de Urdemalas*, the last of the *Ocho comedias*. The first scene of Act III (*PU*: ll. 2127-2371), in which Pedro appears disguised as a hermit and swindles the widow Marina of her money, makes much more sense if moved to the preceding act, between lines 1734 and 1735. Indeed, this is where the scene was placed, on the advice of the academic advisors Jack Sage and Kathleen Mountjoy, when the RSC performed Philip Osment's translation of the play, *Pedro the Great Pretender*, in 2004. Cervantes's drama did not attract as much attention as his prose, and he did not live long enough to suffer any repercussions from this slip, but had this error been pointed out to him he doubtless would have been just as irritated by it as by the mistakes in *Don Quijote*.

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[7] Cited by Rico (*DQ* II. 4: 716, n.9).

Cervantes was not alone amongst Early Modern writers in having mixed feelings about the printing of plays. As mentioned previously, Lope de Vega, in the dedication of *La campana de Aragón*, indicates his preference for the stage as opposed to the page, comparing the difference between the two to the difference between reality and painting.[8] As Thacker points out (2007: 4), the *prólogo* to *Parte XII* shows that for Lope the printed text held only the body of the drama, while performance contained its soul: 'Bien sé que leyéndolas te acordáras de las acciones de aquellos que a este cuerpo sirvieron de alma, para que te den más gusto las figuras que de sola tu gracia esperan movimiento' (Vega 1872: xxii). According to this view, the book functions only as a trigger for the memory: the readers of the text will set the actors in motion in their imagination, based on what they are able to recall from a performance that they have witnessed. Elsewhere in Europe, John Marston expresses the fear that something might be lost in the reading, and that his reputation might be damaged as a result, telling his readers, in the prologue to *The Malcontent* that 'onely one thing afflicts mee, to thinke that Scenes invented, meerely to be spoken, should be inforcively published to be read, & that the least hurt I can receive, is to do my selfe the wrong (1934: vol. I, p. 139)'[9] Lope's preference for performance and Marston's reservations about print can be attributed to the degree of authorial presence, which McKenzie describes as 'greatest in speech, still implied by script, least of all in print' (2002: 247). The main reason for publishing plays was to combat the dissemination of pirated editions, facilitated by *memoriosos*, who attended performances and then copied down, often inaccurately, what they had heard (Chartier 1999: 28-29). However, as McKenzie points out (2002: 247), some writers were concerned that printing could result in a loss of control over one's text. That was something of which Cervantes was only too keenly aware, since the printing of *Don Quijote* had exposed him to another kind of piracy, which gave him even more reason to be mistrustful of the medium of print than the mockery to which he had been subjected on account of the errors in the first part. He became aware of it sometime in the autumn of 1614, with the publication of a hostile sequel, *Segunda parte del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, written by someone going under the

[8] See Chapter 3, p. 71.

[9] Cited by Chartier (1999: 51).

pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda.[10] The first time that Cervantes refers to it is in the *dedicatoria* to the Count of Lemos that forms part of the front matter of *Ocho comedias*:

> Don Quijote de la Mancha queda calzadas las espuelas en su Segunda parte para ir a besar los pies a V. E. Creo que llegará quejoso, porque en Tarragona le han asendereado y malparado, aunque, por sí o por no, lleva información hecha de que no es él el contenido en aquella historia, sino otro supuesto, que quiso ser él y no acertó a serlo. (*LE*: 16)[11]

Cervantes thought of his books like his children, as is clear from the reference, in the prologue, to the first part of *Don Quijote* as an 'hijo del entendimiento' (*DQ* I: 9). As he makes clear in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, to have his books printed is a painful experience, like giving them up for adoption: 'mi ingenio las engendró, y las parió mi pluma, y van creciendo en los brazos de la estampa' (*NE*: 19). Avellaneda's sequel must have left him feeling that his child had been kidnapped. The pain it caused him was compounded by the vitriolic abuse to which he is subjected in the prologue to his rival's book:

> Como casi es comedia toda la historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, no puede ni debe ir sin prólogo; y así, sale al principio desta segunda parte de sus hazañas éste, menos cacareado y agresor de sus letores que el que a su primera parte puso Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y más humilde que el que segundó en sus *Novelas*, más satíricas que ejemplares, si bien no poco ingeniosas. No le parecerán a él lo son las razones desta historia, que se prosigue con la autoridad que él la comenzó y con la copia de fieles relaciones que a su mano llegaron; y digo mano, pues confiesa de sí que tiene sola una; y hablando tanto de todos, hemos de decir dél que, como soldado tan viejo en años cuanto mozo en bríos, tiene más lengua que manos. […] Y, pues Miguel de Cervantes es ya de viejo como el castillo de San Cervantes, y por los años tan mal contentadizo, que todo y todos le enfadan, y por ello está tan falto de amigos, que cuando quisiera adornar sus libros con sonetos campanudos, había de ahijarlos como él dice al Preste Juan de las

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[10] The precise date of publication of Avellaneda's *Quijote* is not known, because there is no *tasa* or *fe de las erratas*, but a rough estimate can be made based on the fact that the *licencia* was granted on 4th July 1614. Several candidates have been suggested for the real identity of Avellaneda, but the strongest evidence, according to Jiménez (2006) seems to point to Jerónimo de Pasamonte.

[11] The place where Avellaneda's *Quijote* was printed is given as Tarragona on the title page, but as Chartier shows (2007: 38), the book was actually printed in Barcelona.

> Indias o al Emperador de Trapisonda, por no hallar título quizás en España que no se ofendiera de que tomara su nombre en la boca.[12] (Avellaneda 2001)

The anger that these comments occasioned can be felt in the prologue to the second part of *Don Quijote*, and continues to resonate until the final chapter, where the regret that Alonso Quijano expresses on his deathbed for having given Avellaneda the motive and opportunity for his sequel becomes a vehicle for Cervantes to express his contempt for the interloper:

> »Iten, suplico a los dichos señores mis albaceas que si la buena suerte les trujere a conocer al autor que dicen que compuso una historia que anda por ahí con el título de *Segunda parte de las hazañas de don Quijote de la Mancha*, de mi parte le pidan, cuan encarecidamente ser pueda, perdone la ocasión que sin yo pensarlo le di de haber escrito tantos y tan grandes disparates como en ella escribe, porque parto desta vida con escrúpulo de haberle dado motivo para escribirlos. (*DQ* II. 74: 1334)

Cervantes has lost control of his literary creation through the printed book, which has both provoked Avellaneda's sequel and provided the medium for its dissemination. It is significant, therefore, that it is Cide Hamete's pen that makes the final reference to Avellaneda's *Quijote,* reclaiming the narrative for the intimacy of the written, rather than printed, word, and thereby re-establishing the intimate relationship that exists between the author and his work:

> Para mí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él: él supo obrar y yo escribir, solos los dos somos para en uno, a despecho y pesar del escritor fingido y tordesillesco que se atrevió o se ha de atrever a escribir con pluma de avestruz grosera y mal deliñada las hazañas de mi valeroso caballero, porque no es carga de sus hombros, ni asunto de su resfriado ingenio. (*DQ* II. 74: 1336)

The reference to the 'escritor fingido' is heavily ironic, since the pen belongs to another 'escritor fingido'. Cervantes creates an opposition between Cide Hamete, a fictive figure who speaks the truth, and Avellaneda, a real person whose writing is false. This

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[12] The reference to Prester John and the Emperor Trapisonda is an allusion to the prologue to the first part of *Don Quijote*: '—Lo primero en que reparáis de los sonetos, epigramas o elogios que os faltan para el principio, y que sean de personajes graves y de título, se puede remediar en que vos mesmo toméis algún trabajo en hacerlos, y depués los podéis bautizar y poner el nombre que quisiéredes, ahijándolos al Preste Juan de las Indias o al Emperador de Trapisonda.' (*DQ* I: 14)

passage thus provides an example of how Cervantes was able to turn the tables on his rival, rewriting his own story to include explicit, scathing references to the fake version, in another example of the mingling of fact and fiction mentioned previously. The first of these references is in Chapter 59 (*DQ* II: 1213-18). Another occurs a little further on, in Chapter 62, at the end of Don Quixote's visit to the print-shop, when he notes that one of the volumes in preparation is Avellaneda's *Segunda parte* (*DQ* II. 62: 1251). The choice of location for this apparently chance encounter is very deliberate on Cervantes's part and reflects the ambivalence he feels towards the medium of print, which on the one hand has promoted the 'gran fama' of both Cervantes and his protagonist, but on the other hand has also been responsible for the dissemination of a book that seeks to discredit him.

Publishing in Golden Age Spain was clearly a risky business, and as far as the author's reputation was concerned the stakes could be extremely high. Neither was there any great hope of financial gain to compensate for the disadvantages. In the prologue to the *Segunda parte* Cervantes refers to the impossibility of winning both fame and fortune through writing: 'Una de las mayores tentaciones del demonio es ponerle en el entendimiento que puede componer, y imprimir un libro con que gane tanta fama como dineros y tantos dineros como fama' (*DQ* II: 675). Cervantes's view is borne out by what Francisco Márquez Torres writes in one of the *aprobaciones* contained in the front matter of the same book, regarding a conversation he had about its author on 25th February 1615, with some French noblemen who were accompanying their ambassador on a visit to the Archbishop of Toledo:

> Preguntáronme muy por menor su edad, su profesión, calidad y cantidad. Halleme obligado a decir que era viejo, soldado, hidalgo y pobre, a que uno respondió estas formales palabras: «¿Pues a tal hombre no le tiene España muy rico y sustentado del erario público?» Acudió otro de aquellos caballeros con este pensamiento, y con mucha agudeza, y dijo: «Si necesidad le ha de obligar a escribir, plega a dios que nunca tenga abundancia, para que con sus obras siendo él pobre, haga rico a todo el mundo». (*DQ* II: 669-70)

It was far more profitable, where plays were concerned, to write for performance rather than for publication: 'a stage manager would pay from 500 to 1000 *reales* (or more) for

a play, while a publisher might baulk at 100' (Rennert 1909: 177-78).[13] A publisher could make money from plays but profit margins were small, which might help to explain the reluctance of the bookseller, mentioned in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*, to risk having the volume printed. The conversation between Don Quixote and the translator in the print-shop indicates that a book could sometimes be published at the author's own cost:

> Pero dígame vuestra merced, este libro ¿imprímiese por su cuenta o tiene ya vendido el privilegio a algún librero? —Por mi cuenta lo imprimo —respondió el autor— y pienso ganar mil ducados, por lo menos, con esta primera impresión, que ha de ser de dos mil cuerpos, y se ha de despachar a seis reales cada uno en daca las pajas. (*DQ* II. 62: 1250)

Cervantes had, indeed, probably financed the printing of *Viaje del Parnaso* himself, since the title page of that volume does not acknowledge any bookseller. However, self-publication was a risky business, which could be sabotaged by the shenanigans of booksellers, leaving the author with a lot of unsold copies on his hands. Don Quixote's sceptical response to the translator's announcement that he goes to press for mercenary reasons, rather than to win fame, may reflect Cervantes's own bitter experience:

> ¡Bien está vuesa merced en la cuenta! —respondió Don Quijote— Bien parece que no sabe las entradas y salidas de los impresores y las correspondencias que hay de unos a otros. Yo le prometo que cuando se vea cargado de dos mil cuerpos de libros vea tan molido su cuerpo, que se espante, y más si el libro es un poco avieso y nonada picante. (*DQ* II. 62: 1250)

As Chartier has indicated (2007: 36-37), it was well known that publishers indulged in false accounting to increase their profits. Tomás, in *El licenciado vidriera*, referring to booksellers, talks of 'los melindres que hacen cuando compran un privilegio de un libro y de la burla que hacen a su autor si acaso le imprime a su costa, pues en lugar de mil y quinientos, imprimen tres mil libros, y cuando el autor piensa que se venden los suyos, se despachan los ajenos' (*NE*: 285). The translator's response to Don

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[13] Cited by Cruickshank (1985: 54). In 1585 Cervantes received only forty *ducados* (equivalent to about 440 *reales*) from the *autor* Gaspar de Porres for two plays, *La confusa* and *El trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Celín* (Sliwa 2007: 3589). He received considerably more in the agreement he made with Rodrigo Osorio in 1592, according to which he would produce six plays for fifty *ducados* (about 550 *reales*) each. However, that agreement was subject to the proviso that Osorio was not obliged to pay him anything 'si no eran las mejores de España' (Sliwa 2007: 3620).

Quixote's admonitions demonstrates that, where publication was concerned, writers were caught between a rock and a hard place: '—Pues ¿qué? —dijo el autor—. ¿Quiere vuesa merced que se lo dé a un librero que me dé por el privilegio tres maravedis, y aun piensa que me hace merced en dármelos?' (*DQ* II. 62: 1250). The negativity that Cervantes expresses about publication, in the scene in the print-shop in Chapter 62, was clearly shared by Lope, who, in the prologue to *Parte XVII*, invents fictitious lawsuits against booksellers by the allegorical character *El Teatro* (Vega 1622: 04r-04v).[14] These are defeated on the grounds that, once the plays have been paid for, the authors no longer have any rights over them. Authors steal from each other, and the worst thing a playwright can do is to have his work printed.

These views of Cervantes and Lope about the print process need to be taken into account when considering textual authority and different approaches to editing. Shillingsburg (1996: 97) has drawn attention to the inclination of what he describes as the 'materialist' (as opposed to 'idealist') tendency within scholarly editing to define textual authority as social, rather than authorial, on the grounds that the writer enters into an agreement with a publishing company. However, this view is curiously idealistic about the nature of such agreements, which may, after all, be based on the author's pragmatic acceptance that some kind of deal is better than no deal at all. As McGann puts it, the writer may be 'a willing or passive partner in an unhelpful process, or an unwilling partner in a downright repressive process' (1983: 125). There is certainly more than a hint of weary resignation, and not a little irony, in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*, when Cervantes cites his reasons for going to print: 'Aburríme y vendíselas al tal librero, que las ha puesto en la estampa como aquí te las ofrece. Él me las pagó razonablemente; yo cogí mi dinero con suavidad, sin tener cuenta con dimes ni diretes de recitantes' (*LE*: 15). As we have seen, Cervantes had mixed feelings about print, which, as well as helping to make him famous throughout Europe, had exposed him to ridicule, abuse and the hijacking of his most famous literary creation. He took the decision to have the plays printed, motivated primarily by the desire to rescue them for posterity. In order to fully determine the nature of the text that resulted from that decision, and the extent to which is it is representative of Cervantes, it is necessary to attempt to retrace the journey of the plays from manuscript to print.

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[14] Cited by Reichenberger (1985: 8).

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From the Pen to the Print-Shop

> Sucedió, pues, que yendo por una calle alzó los ojos don Qujote y vio escrito sobre una puerta, con letras muy grandes: «Aquí se imprimen libros», de lo que se contentó mucho, porque hasta entonces no había visto emprenta alguna y deseaba saber cómo fuese. Entró dentro, con todo su acompañamiento, y vio tirar en una parte, corregir en otra, componer en ésta, enmendar en aquella, y, finalmente, toda aquella máquina que en las emprentas grandes se muestra. (*DQ* II. 62: 1247-48)

The above passage from *Don Quijote*, notable for the precise documentary detail that Ife (2002: 11) has identified as a trademark of Cervantes, leaves us in no doubt that, unlike his protagonist, the writer was very familiar with the environment of a print-shop. *Don Quijote*, as Ife points out, is 'profoundly steeped in the social and economic reality of Habsburg Spain' (11), and Chapter 62 certainly confirms this, since, as Chartier mentions (2007: 29), the knight witnesses several important stages of the print process: composition (*componer*), operation of the press (*tirar*), correction of proofs (*corregir*), and enmendation (*enmendar*). Chartier (2007: 38-39) supports Rico's view that the print-shop in question was that of Sebastián de Cormellas in Barcelona, but suggests that the description was based on Cervantes's knowledge of the Madrid premises of Juan de la Cuesta. However, since the production of the *Segunda parte* was interrupted by that of *Ocho comedias*, the account is just as likely to have been influenced by Cervantes's familiarity with the print-shop where the volume of plays was produced, that of Francisca Medina, who went by the name of 'la viuda de Alonso Martín'. Her premises were situated in Calle de los Preciados (Moll 2011), a little further away than La Cuesta's shop in Calle de Atocha (Moll 2006), but still just a ten-minute walk from where he was living at the time, on the corner of Calle de León and Calle de Francos, now known as Calle de Cervantes (Mancing 2004: 95). The flurry of activity described in the passage quoted above is the process of production, but by the time production begins the text has already made a lengthy journey, during which it has been altered substantially from the autograph copy produced by the author. What happens to the text during that journey is vital to our understanding of what the printed

volume represents, and therefore has important implications for the approach one adopts to editing.

The Punctuation of the Autograph

Authors in the Early Modern period wrote on quires of folded sheets (Gaskell 1972: 40). As Rico mentions (2005: 101), Cervantes's accounts as commissioner of supplies for the Armada show that he spent a lot of money on paper and ink. Some of this must have been necessary for the execution of his official duties, but a proportion would probably have been reserved for his personal use. Although there are no surviving autograph copies of his works there are a few examples of his handwriting, which are notable for their absence of punctuation. There are no commas, colons, semicolons or accents, and while he does occasionally write a full stop, his use of that sign is often inappropriate (Rico 2005: 161-64). In this respect, according to a contemporary account by the printer Andrés de Angulo, he was typical of his time: 'que los autores por maravilla traen los originales bien corregidos ny con buena ortografía ny de puntuación como conviene porque pocos ay que aunque sean muy letrados entiendan esto' (Abad 1997: 5).[1] What is significant in this statement is that the ability to punctuate 'como conviene' is not regarded as a skill that would be expected of men of letters like Cervantes. That should not surprise us, for there was no clear system of punctuation in Spain in the sixteenth century, when Cervantes and other Golden Age playwrights were educated. The repercussions for editing have been summarized by Arellano (2010: 20): 'En la práctica esto quiere decir que nunca dispondremos del sistema del autor, entre otras razones porque el autor del Siglo de Oro no tiene sistema.' A greater uniformity developed during the seventeenth century in printed texts, but even then there were many inconsistencies. As Mediavilla mentions (2007: 17-18), Nebrija's *Gramatica de la lengua castellana* was a point of reference for many Spanish writers of the sixteenth century, but Nebrija does not even mention punctuation in that work, probably because his model was Latin, and, having dealt with the punctuation of that language in his *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*, he would have assumed his readers would follow the precepts he set down there.[2] If Cervantes had received any

[1] Cited by Dadson (2000: 104)

[2] *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*, in Santiago (1996). Cited by Mediavilla (2007: 17-18)

guidance in punctuation as a schoolboy it is more likely to have come from the *Orthographia pratica*, by the renowned Basque calligrapher Juan de Ycíar, which was published in 1548, the year after Cervantes's birth, or perhaps from the humanist Antonio de Torquemada's *Manual de escribientes*, which appeared in 1552. The latter writer was certainly known to Cervantes, since he also wrote a novel of chivalry, *Don Olivante de Laura*, which is condemned to the flames in the book burning episode of the first part of *Don Quijote* (*DQ* I. 6: 85).

Punctuation is the last of what Ycíar denotes as the four intervals (*intervallos*) that should be observed when writing, the others being the distance between lines, the distance between letters, and the distance between words (1548: I iij-v).[3] He makes an explicit connection between the spoken word and writing, thereby making clear the primarily rhetorical function of punctuation at this time, when, after noting the importance of pauses to speech, he writes: 'Como la escriptura no sea otra cosa que vn razonamiento, y platica con los ausentes: hallan se tambien en ella las mismas pausas y interuallos señalados con diuersas maneras de rayas, y puntos' (Ycíar 1548: I v).[4] Ycíar refers to six signs: the *diastole* [/], comma [,], *colum* [:], *parenthesis* [( )], *nota interrogationis* [?] and *punctum clausulare* or *periodi* [.] (Ycíar: I v). Noteworthy for their absence are the semicolon and exclamation mark. In acknowledging that printers do not use all the signs, for example substituting a comma for [/] and [:], Ycíar provides an example of the gap that existed between theory and practice of punctuation at the time, which meant that printers were slow to introduce new symbols, even when the type was available. One might imagine that a theorist of orthography would take the lead in establishing sound principles, but Ycíar defers to the practitioners: 'Para en esto no hay mejor, que recorrer a los Estampadores, a quien principalmente el oficio y cargo de bien apuntar la escriptura esta encomendado. Porque siguiendo a ellos, pues no hay otra regla: nuestro yerro tendra legitima disculpa' (Ycíar 1548: I v).[5]

Torquemada's *Manual* still adheres to the principal of three divisions established in ancient times: 'se ha de vsar en la buena ortographía de los apartamientos y

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[3] Ycíar's text is unpaginated. The reference after the date (I iij-v) is the gathering signature.

[4] Cited by Mediavilla (2007: 100). Paredes, a printer writing over a century later, in 1680, still retains this link to the spoken word, describing written phrases as 'oraciones': 'Con el inciso, ò coma, dividimos la clausula, ò periodo en sus partes mas menudas, esto es, quando se va prosiguiendo materia corriente, para claridad, y distincion de las oraciones' (Paredes 1984: fol. 20r).

[5] Cited by Mediavilla (2007: 34).

diuisiones que se hazen con puntos y rayas que los latinos llaman colum, y coma, y punto' (Torquemada 1970: 115). His system of signs is correspondingly antiquated and, like that of Ycíar, based on rhetorical principles. When writing, he recommends, with a notable lack of precision, [/] for 'donde avemos de hazer vn poco de pausa, deteniendo vn poco el aliento, o donde acauamos la oraçion deteniéndonos vn poco más' and [./] 'quando acauáremos sentençia y quisiéremos començar otra cosa diferente de lo que vamos deziendo' (1970: 116). He continues thus: 'si quisiéremos diferençiarlo más, podemos poner la raya a la larga de esta manera, con dos puntos, vno ençima y otro enbaxo' (116), but does not specify the sign. Presumably he means that [˙/.] is a pause midway between [/] and [./].

Torquemada recognizes that printers have more cause to be concerned with punctuation, since they are involved in mass-production: 'los que escriuen y leen el molde van más puntuales porque tienen más lugar de poder hazerlo que no los que escriuen de su propia mano, porque emiendan y apuntan vn original para la ynpresión de dos mill libros' (1970: 116). In acknowledging that writers are often much less attentive to punctuation, Torquemada, remarkably perhaps for an author of a manual on writing, seems to allow considerable scope for individual opinions and preferences in such matters:

> Algunos escriuen muy apriesa, y otros descuidados, y otros que no miran en ello, y otros que no se les da nada, ni les pareçe que es falta, pero yo os digo que es muy grande, y así estoy çierto que los que me oyeren esto que digo tendrán diuersas opiniones y pareçeres, porque cada vno querrá sentirlo y defenderlo como lo vsa y escriue, y no me marauillaré de que çerca de esta materia quieran dar y enseñar otras rreglas; vosotros seguiremos [*sic*] las que mejor os pareçiere. (1970: 116-7)

Cervantes was most likely one of those who wrote 'muy apriesa', especially if one bears in mind the number of different projects with which he was involved at the time of the publication of *Ocho comedias*, and also what was said in Chapter 1 about his tendency to compose in impromptu fashion. The lack of punctuation in surviving autographs may, therefore, have resulted as much from haste as from a lack of any clear guidelines to follow. He was certainly not alone amongst Golden Age writers in failing to punctuate what he wrote. Originals of Calderón de la Barca's *La humildad coronada*, prepared for the printer by the author himself, show an almost complete absence of

punctuation, and the few markings they do carry are not always reliable (Arellano 2010: 20). Lines 85-110 of the autograph of *El agua mansa*, also by Calderón, have two commas and one full stop, while the printed edition of Vera Tassis has 21 commas, 5 full stops, one colon and two accents (Arellano 2010: 20). Rico (2005: 164) has also drawn attention to the scant regard for punctuation shown by writers of the period, and, in the case of the *Quijote*, feels that the oral style of the narrative would have encouraged it: 'El *Quijote* no está tanto escrito como dicho, redactado sin someterse a las constricciones de la escritura: ni las de entonces, con las mañas barrocas requeridas por los estilos en boga, ni, naturalmente, las nuestras'.[6] If Rico is correct, then what he says would have been even more true of a collection of works for the stage, such as *Ocho comedias*.

The Original and the Scribe

Some scholars have laboured under the misapprehension that Cervantes's autograph would have been used by the printers as their copy text, and even constructed editorial theories based on that false assumption. Eisenberg, for example, makes the following statement: 'That the accidentals have been altered by the compositors is not, in my judgement, a justification for their modernisation, nor is their irregularity grounds for regularisation. They still reflect *something* of Cervantes's practice even if it is not always clear just what, and the alteration was executed by Golden Age workers, with Cervantes's manuscript before them' (1983: 11). Flores makes similar claims (1975: 5). Printers, however, far from following the practice of authors with regard to punctuation, were largely responsible for establishing the rules, as theorists such as Ycíar and Torquemada freely acknowledged. In any case, as Garza Merino's recent research has demonstrated (2000: 65), the *original de imprenta* is rarely the work of the author. Usually it is a clean copy of the autograph, produced by a professional amanuensis. The ideal original needed to be clear and legible, with the script of uniform size, the same number of lines on each page and appropriate margins (Garza Merino 2000: 65). Indeed, it is entirely logical that this is what would be required, since everything was geared towards making the printing process run more smoothly.

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[6] 'Prólogo' (Cervantes 1998d: 20). Cited by Chartier (2006: 488)

The first significant intermediary between the author's pen and the printed page was therefore the scribe, who, according to what Hornschuch writes in his corrector's manual of 1608, was more concerned with making money than with orthographic consistency (Hornschuch 1972: 22). The portrait of the *escribano* that Rico draws (2005: 68-69) is of someone who was typically not particularly well-educated, but with illusions of grandeur, and with a tendency to amend the text as well as introduce errors. This view is amusingly supported by the rather sheepish apology, entitled 'De cómo se corrompe la ortografía en los traslados o copias' carried by Torquemada's *Manual de escribientes*:

> Tanbién suplico a los que vieren y leyeren esta obrezilla que no me den la culpa que justamente me podrían poner de no yr escrita con buena orthographía, pues que auiendo yo hecho tratado dando reglas y preçetos della, estaua más obligado a seguirla y guardarla que otro ninguno, y la causa de no lo hazer ha sido que del original la trasladó vn escriuiente vizcaýno, el qual no tubo tanta aduertençia quanta convenía a poner y escreuir las letras neçesarias, ni depués se pudo corregir, porque fuera borrar en muchas partes el libro, y así se ha dexado hasta que se torne a poner otra vez en linpio. (Torquemada 1970: 64-65)

Since the scribe was paid by the page, he worked quickly and looked for ways of increasing the volume of his output, for example by systematically doubling the intervocalic *s* or preferring spellings such as *sancto* to *santo* (Rico 2005: 68). Once he had completed the preparation of the original it would be returned to the author for revision and correction, the extent of which could range from the suppression of individual words or phrases to the rewriting of entire chapters (Garza Merino 2000: 66). Whereas an author would have very little time to correct page proofs he could revise the original at his leisure, and as a result there would generally be more differences between the autograph and the original than between the original and the printed volume (Rico 2005: 56). Some of the errors in editions of *Don Quijote* can be traced to difficulties that the scribe had in deciphering the author's hand. Readings such as *leyó* for *hizó* (Cervantes 1605: fol. 180r) and *mayorcas* for *mazorcas* (Cervantes 1615a: fol. 34r), for example, can be explained by Cervantes's tendency to write his 'z' and 'y' in similar fashion (Rico 2005: 107-10). There is an example (see *Fig. 3*) of a similar misreading in Act III of *La entretenida* (*OC*: fol. 186v), which is retained in the Schevill/Bonilla and

Sevilla/Rey editions, despite the fact that the correct expression, 'salir a plaza', is used by Dorotea later in the same act (*OC*: fol. 189r):

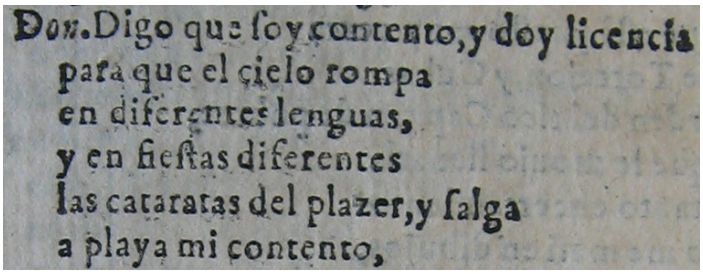
Don. Digo que soy contento, y doy licencia
para que el cielo rompa
en diferentes lenguas,
y en fiestas diferentes
las cataratas del plazer, y salga
a playa mi contento,

Fig. 3: part of fol. 186v of Ocho comedias

The fact that such errors survived the print process, and, in the case of the *Quijote*, a reprint, shows that neither the author nor the corrector, whose role is discussed in detail below, were particularly efficient in checking either the original or the page proofs. Their oversights can be attributed to the extreme pressure under which both were working, with Cervantes planning, writing or overseeing the production of as many as five works simultaneously, and the latter probably having his hands full with his duties as the senior typesetter, working twelve hours a day in the infernal heat of a Madrid summer.

After the revision of the original was completed it had to be submitted to the *Consejo* in order the obtain the necessary clearance by the censor, the *aprobación* (Garza Merino 2000: 66). Giving his approval to the *Ocho comedias,* Maestro Joseph de Valdivielso writes: 'he visto el libro de Comedias, y Entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes no representadas, y no hallo en el cosa contra nuestra Santa Fe Catolica, y buenas costumbres, antes muchas entretenidas, y de gusto' (*OC*: 02v). In this case, and probably most others, the choice of the word 'visto' is undoubtedly appropriate, for just how rigorously Maestro Joseph performed his task can be judged from the *entremés El viejo celoso*, which depicts the cuckolding of a husband, planned with military precision by the Celestina-like figure of Hortigosa, in quite graphic detail, and culminates in the old man, and the audience, listening to the his young wife's ecstatic lovemaking on the other side of a door.[7] The *Consejo* was also responsible for granting the rights to publication (the *privilegio*) for a limited period, which was ten years in the case of *Ocho*

[7] Perhaps Valdivielso had been influenced by Cervantes's flattering remarks about him in the *Viaje del Parnaso*: '¡Oh, quién con lengua nada lisonjera, | Sino con puro afecto en grande exceso, | Dos que llegaron alabar pudiera! | Pero no es de mis hombros este peso; | Fueron los que llegaron los (famosos | Los dos) MAESTROS CALVO y VALDIVIESO' (*VP* IV: 263, ll. 400-05).

comedias. These rights were granted to Cervantes, but were then sold to the publisher Villaroel, with whom he had probably already come to some kind of verbal agreement prior to the preparation of the original. In theory an *original de imprenta* could not be legally altered after it had been signed off by the *escribano de Cámara*, and was marked up in such a way as to prevent any changes. However, in practice authors would find means of circumventing this procedure (Escapa et al. 2000: 33).

Planning the Job: House Style and the Role of the Corrector

After the original had been signed off by the *Consejo* the planning of the production process could begin. Villaroel would already have decided the size of the edition. Alonso Víctor de Paredes, in his seventeenth century printing manual, refers to production rates of 1500, 1750 and 2000 copies of two formes (or one sheet) in one day (ed. Moll 1984: fol. 43v).[8] According to Rico (*DQ*: CCXXVI), Juan de la Cuesta probably only printed 1800 copies of the second edition, in 1605, of *Don Quijote*, which had been a great success, so it is unlikely that more than 1500 copies of *Ocho comedias*, which was a much riskier venture for a publisher, would have been produced. For the printing of the edition Villaroel engaged the services of the business run by Francisca Medina (the 'viuda de Alonso Martín' of the title page), which had worked on Cervantes's *Viaje del Parnaso* in the previous year. Once the print-shop had received the original, signed off by the *Consejo*, it was necessary to begin planning the job. One of the first tasks was to come to an agreement about the general characteristics of the edition, and in particular the layout. The extent to which Cervantes might have been involved in this process is unclear. One study has found that layout and typeface, while generally the domain of the printer, may in some cases have been influenced by the author (Andrés et al. 2000: 34-35). However, Garza Merino (2000: 66) claims that, where the author had sold the *privilegio*, as was the case with *Ocho comedias*, he would have delegated responsibility in such matters to the bookseller and the print-shop. In an attempt to shed more light on the subject, I compared the layout of *Ocho comedias* with that of two other collections of plays printed in the same shop: *Obras trágicas y liricas* (1609) by the poet and playwright Cristóbal de Virués, a friend of Cervantes, published by Esteban Bogia and produced in 1609, when Alonso Martín was still alive; and the

[8] A forme comprised four pages in quarto, and a sheet eight pages.

Sexta parte of Lope's *comedias*, published in April 1615, five months before *Ocho comedias*.

The overall characteristics of the way in which *Ocho comedias* is laid out typographically can be summarized as follows:

- Speaker names are abbreviated, most often to three letters, but sometimes to two or even one; set in italic, at least in so far as the chronic shortage of italic type permitted; and embedded within the verse.
- A hanging indent is used for each new speaker, but also for each new stanza, a dual functionality that is often confusing to the eye.
- The first letter of the first line of each new stanza is set in capitals, irrespective of whether it is preceded by a full stop.
- Generally, when speeches are shared by different characters, they are not written on separate lines. However, shared speeches are set on different lines for typographical reasons, when to do otherwise would exceed the available column width (see for example the left column of folio 183v of *La entretenida* [*OC*]).
- Stage directions are set in italic, centred, and usually separated from the preceding and following text by a space.

There are frequent errors and inconsistencies. In *La entretenida* the majority of these seem to occur in gathering *Aa*, and can therefore probably be attributed to the carelessness of one typesetter. For example, in the first column of folio 187r, the *redondillas* at first are not indented and then are, as if the typesetter realized his mistake in the middle of setting. Since he was on piece-work, he would not have even considered correcting what he had already composed. Similarly, the first line of each stanza of the *cuarteto lira* that begins on folio 184v, which is part of gathering *Z*, is indented, but not in the continuation on folios 185r, 185v, 186r and 186v, which are part of gathering *Aa*. Nor are the stanzas of the *tercetos* that begin with the entrance of Don Silvestre, on folio 191v (again part of gathering *Aa*), indented, unlike those that can be found on folio 197r of *Pedro de Urdemalas*, from the following gathering *Bb*. There is particular confusion about the setting of the *romance* form, which on two occasions (fols. 171v and 190r) is set with every fourth line indented and the first letter in capitals,

and in every other occurrence (172r, 177r, 177v, 189r, 189v, 190v, 191v, 192r) is not differentiated in any way.

Comparison with the other volumes reveals significant differences. In the *Obras trágicas y liricas*, the speaker names are abbreviated but not embedded, except in cases of shared lines, and a normal indent instead of a hanging indent is employed, while in the *Sexta parte* the beginning of each stanza is indicated by a capital but not by indentation, which makes it more difficult to recognize the verse form. These differences would seem to indicate that the layout of the verse was not a matter of house style on the part of the printer, in which case it must have been decided by either the author or the bookseller, or agreed between the two of them.

While it is difficult to determine the precise extent of author involvement with regard to the general characteristics of the edition, what is much more certain, according to both Rico (2005: 77-78 & 154) and Andrés et al. (2000: 39-40), is that most writers of the period left decisions about orthography and punctuation to the printer and publisher. This was not, however, always the case, as is revealed by inspection of the front matter of the *Obras trágicas y liricas,* which bears the statement (on fol. ¶8v) that 'la ortografía que lleva este libro se puso a persuasión del autor dél, y no como el imprenta se usa'.[9] Virués's intervention is of particular interest to the discussion of the punctuation of *Ocho comedias*, as I shall show below. The disclaimer suggests, however, that his involvement was exceptional, as is also demonstrated in cases where it is possible to compare an author's original with the printed version. For example, Rico's comparison of the original of *Sumario de la memorable y santa batalla de Clavijo* [...]*, recopilado por el Licenciado Salinasi*, printed by Juan de la Cuesta in 1601, with the printed copy, has revealed that the original was subjected to radical, and not always consistent, modification of the orthography (Rico 2005: 158). There are also considerable differences in punctuation and capitalization, with the original punctuated significantly less, and in a more idiosyncratic fashion, than the printed version, which is closer to modern usage. Nor did the printers feel obliged to maintain the preferences of the author with regard to phonetic and morphological variants (Rico 2005: 160). Whether Cervantes would have had strong feelings in the matter is a moot point, since, as Rico mentions (2005: 160-01), autograph documents have shown that he was quite cavalier in his spelling habits, writing, for example, *ansi*, *assi* and *asi*, and *mesmo* and

[9] Cited by Rico (2005: 80, n. 47).

mismo. Rico goes on to make the point that someone who signed himself *Cerbantes*, but whose books show his name as *Ceruantes* would not have been bothered if the printer converted *reciuir* and *recibir* to *recebir.* However, as examination of the *Sumario* shows, printers were not necessarily any more consistent than authors in orthographical matters, and *Ocho comedias* reveals a similar lack of regularization in this respect. For example, in gathering *Z* of *La entretenida*, which incorporates most of Act II, there are five incidences of *acaso* and one of *a caso*, while in the following gathering *Aa*, there a five examples of *acaso* and none of *a caso.* Further examples are provided by variations in the use of *mismo*/*mesmo*, *vuestra*/*vuesa*/*vuessa*, *efecto*/*efeto*, *ygual*/*igual*, and *vozes*/*bozes*.

It is tempting to attribute such inconsistency to the personal preferences of individual typesetters. However, in nearly every case the choice of one or the other spelling has spatial implications, so it is equally possible that the typesetter was motivated primarily by the desire to expand or contract the line in order to improve the layout. The incidence of variants raises interesting questions about the production process. If, as Garza Merino suggests (2000: 66), part of the planning of the job was to regularize orthography, why is there such inconsistency with regard to spelling? If the inconsistency is due to the typesetters, why was it not picked up at the proofing stage, and does the fact that it was not tell us anything about the efficiency with which the text was checked, or did it result from a tendency to prioritize layout over orthographic consistency?

According to Dadson (2006: 237), the person responsible for regularizing punctuation and spelling, as well as supervising the proofing of the printed copy was the corrector, who, like the amanuensis, was another potentially significant editor, albeit an anonymous one. One of the earliest references to this figure comes from the report that resulted from the visits to Spanish printers carried out by order of Phillip II, which showed that there were no correctors working in Granada, and appealed for both compositors and correctors to be persons well-versed in grammar and spelling (Martínez Ruiz 1968: 95-96).[10] The lack of standards was also noted by the printer Andrés de Angulo, who lamented the prevalence of ‘muy ruines correctores’ and suggested that they should have to undergo an examination (Martín Abad 1997: 5).[11]

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[10] Cited by Dadson (2000: 97-98).

[11] Cited by Dadson (2000: 98)

Had the test been devised by Gonzalo de Ayala, corrector in the Madrid printing house of Luis Sánchez, it certainly would have been a demanding one. In his *Apologia de la imprenta* of 1619 he says that a corrector should know grammar, spelling, etymology, punctuation, and accentuation, and have a working knowledge of science, letters, Greek, Hebrew, and medical, astrological and musical terms. He should also know elocution, in both Latin and Romance languages, as well as being familiar with the process of printing by formes (Infantes 1982: 39).[12] Moxon's profile of the ideal corrector, from later in the seventeenth century, is even more exacting, requiring him to know twelve languages (Moxon 1962: 246-47).[13] Writing around the same time, Paredes (2005: fols. 42r-42v) describes four types of corrector:

1. Well-educated but with no experience of printing.
2. A printer, conversant with Latin and well-read in history and other kinds of books. This type is most suitable for the task.
3. An experienced typesetter who does not know Latin, but who can consult the author if needs be.
4. The barely literate, appointed when the owner of the print-shop is not a printer but a bookseller, or widow, or person who does not understand the business.

In which of these categories can one place the corrector of *Ocho comedias*? Notwithstanding the numerous errors in layout referred to above, most of which can be attributed to the carelessness of individuals, the edition shows typographical skill, and is generally accurate with regard to the words themselves—the 'substantives', as they are often referred to by bibliographers. One can therefore probably discount the involvement of either the first or last category of corrector in the production of the volume. In spite of Paredes's chauvinistic comment about widows, it is clear that Francisca Medina either knew the business well enough herself, or had the services of a good manager. Her print-shop had a solid enough reputation to be entrusted by various bookseller-publishers with several prestigious commissions, including Lope's *Sexta parte* and the reprint, in 1622, of the bestselling *Primera y segunda parte de la Diana de George de Montemayor*, published by Domingo González. Whether it is possible to

[12] Cited by Dadson (2000: 98-99).

[13] Cited by Dadson (2000: 100).

fit the corrector of *Ocho comedias* into either the second or third categories described by Paredes is more problematic, and can perhaps best be determined by examining the manner in which he carried out his duties, the first of which was to punctuate the text.

Punctuation and the Printer in Golden Age Spain

Unlike authors, printers were expected to know about punctuation. Indeed, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries printers were in the vanguard of thinking on such matters and were themselves the writers of treatises. The first of these was Aldo Manuzio *il Giovane*, the head of a prestigious printing house, who came from a family of printers, and was a professor at the universities of Bologna, Pisa and Rome (Mediavilla 2007 36-37). Other important printer-theorists who came after Manuzio were Guillermo Foquel and Felipe Mey, both of whom were to influence Paredes (Mediavilla 2007: 44-47). Their writings, although they indicate the beginning of a more convergent approach to punctuation, are nevertheless marked by important differences, not only with regard to the number of signs used and their names, but in the significance of those signs. The exclamation mark is not included in the systems of either Foquel or Manuzio, but is referred to by Mey, who had possibly been influenced in this matter by Juan López de Velasco, a humanist who appears to have been the first Spanish punctuation theorist to introduce the sign (Mediavilla 2007: 41). The semicolon is another sign not recognized by Foquel. The difference between its meaning and that of the colon was a particularly grey area, which probably explains why the semicolon was so late in being introduced into the printing houses. It is not, for example, used at all in the first part of *Don Quijote*, but does occur in the second part, mostly at the expense of the colon (Mediavilla 2008: 149). Since both volumes were printed by Juan de la Cuesta, this inconsistency is a good illustration of the state of flux in which the practice of punctuation, as well as the theory, existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and also provides further evidence, if any were needed, of Cervantes's lack of involvement in such issues.

The corrector of a Golden Age text did have certain guidelines to follow, but they were by no means clear, and the punctuation of *Ocho comedias* reflects this lack of consistency. The repertoire of signs used by Francisca Medina's print-shop in *Ocho comedias* seems to closely resemble the one employed by Juan de la Cuesta at the time

of the publication of first part of *Don Quijote*, involving six symbols: the comma, colon, full stop, parenthesis, question mark and exclamation mark. There are five occasions where a question mark appears to have been used to express surprise, even though the exclamation mark is used elsewhere for that purpose. Two examples can be found on folio 170r of *La entretenida*, after Don Antonio and Marcela have carried on a conversation oblivious to the presence of the servants Quiñones and Cristina:

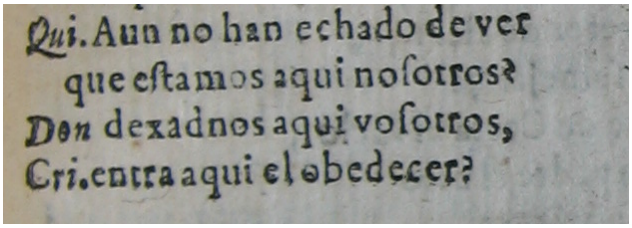

Qui. Aun no han echado de ver
que eſtamos aqui noſotros?
Don dexadnos aqui voſotros,
Cri. entra aqui el obedecer?

Fig. 4: Part of fol. 170r

This particular inconsistency can be explained by the influence on printing house practice of different theorists, some of whom, like Manuzio, used the question mark to express surprise, while others, like Mey, used the exclamation mark.

The colon, the function of which had never been clearly established in punctuation theory, is used in *La entretenida* in at least six different ways:

- preceding the conjunctions *porque* and *pero* (171r, 173v, 175v)
- following an exclamation (175v, 188v, 190r)
- at the end of a sentence, where a full stop would normally be found (175v)
- following a question (176r)
- before a *non sequitur* (180r, 188v)
- before a dramatic pause (194r)

Even if one allows that the use of the colon where one might expect a question mark or an exclamation mark could result from a compositor picking up the wrong piece of type, the variation in the use of this sign is remarkable. Folio 175v (*Fig. 5*) shows the colon being used in three different ways, so the confusion cannot be attributed to individual typesetter preference.

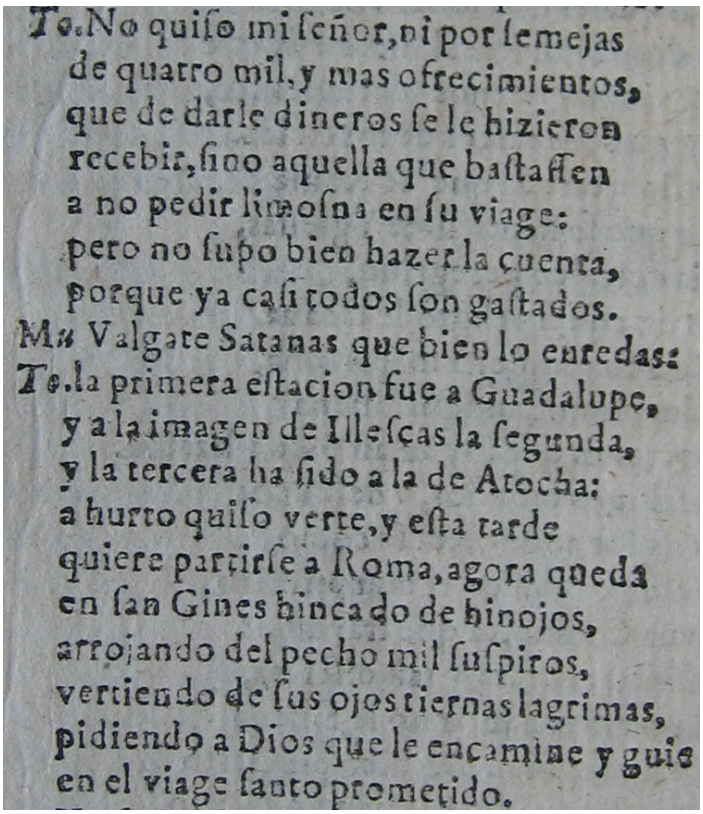

Te. No quiſo mi ſeñor, ni por ſemejas
de quatro mil, y mas ofrecimientos,
que de darle dineros ſe le hizieron
recebir, ſino aquella que baſtaſſen
a no pedir limoſna en ſu viage:
pero no ſupo bien hazer la cuenta,
porque ya caſi todos ſon gaſtados.
Ma Valgate Satanas que bien lo enredas:
Te. la primera eſtacion fue a Guadalupe,
y a la imagen de Illeſcas la ſegunda,
y la tercera ha ſido a la de Atocha:
a hurto quiſo verte, y eſta tarde
quiere partirſe a Roma, agora queda
en ſan Gines hincado de hinojos,
arrojando del pecho mil ſuſpiros,
vertiendo de ſus ojos tiernas lagrimas,
pidiendo a Dios que le encamine y guie
en el viage ſanto prometido.

Fig. 5: Part of fol. 175v

As has been shown, the writings of early Golden Age theorists of orthography like Ycíar and Torquemada reflected the fact that since ancient times the primary purpose of punctuation had been rhetorical: to indicate when the speaker was to pause, and for how long. However, printers who later wrote treatises on the subject, such as Felipe Mey, began to establish rules of punctuation that were purely mechanical, recommending, for example, that a comma should be always be placed before the copulative conjunctions *y* and *o*. This practice is fairly consistently observed in *Ocho comedias*. A comma is also nearly always placed before *ni*, and *pero* and *porque* are also generally preceded by a punctuation mark, usually a comma, but sometimes a full stop, question mark or colon.

There is, therefore, evidence of the application of something approaching a house style in matters of punctuation, in so far as the theoretical guidelines allowed, by the person who fulfilled the role of corrector at Francisca Medina's print-shop. However, it is also apparent that whoever has punctuated the text has done so often with little understanding of its meaning, as is shown by the following example (*Fig. 6*), from the very first scene of *La entretenida*, in which Ocaña is lecturing the kitchen-maid Cristina about her behaviour:

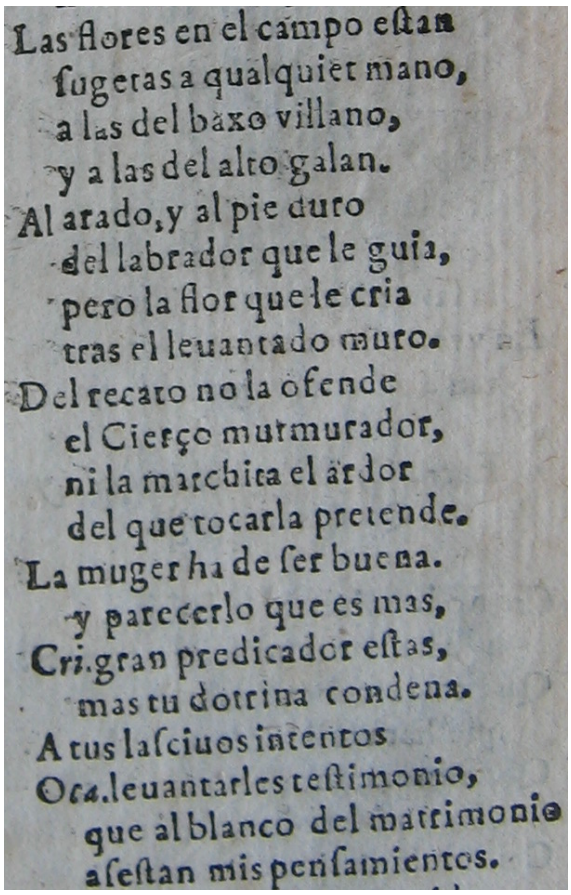

Las flores en el campo eſtan
ſugetas a qualquier mano,
a las del baxo villano,
y a las del alto galan.
Al arado, y al pie duro
del labrador que le guia,
pero la flor que le cria
tras el leuantado muro.
Del recato no la ofende
el Cierço murmurador,
ni la marchita el ardor
del que tocarla pretende.
La muger ha de ſer buena.
y parecerlo que es mas,
Cri. gran predicador eſtas,
mas tu dotrina condena.
A tus laſciuos intentos
Oca. leuantarles teſtimonio,
que al blanco del matrimonio
aſeſtan mis penſamientos.

Fig. 6: Part of fol. 169r

The capital letters at the beginning of the second, third and fifth stanzas are the result of a convention about layout, referred to above, but the full stops after ‘galan’, ‘muro’, ‘buena’ and ‘condena‘ are very obvious errors, which demonstrate a complete failure to disentangle the syntax. The comma after ‘mas’, rather than a full stop, and the lack of a full stop after ‘intentos’ are also difficult to justify. Reading a passage such as this, one inclines to the view that the corrector was of the third, rather than second category, described by Paredes, in other words a senior typesetter, who not only did not ‘know Latin’, but made only a superficial attempt to understand the Spanish text he was marking up.

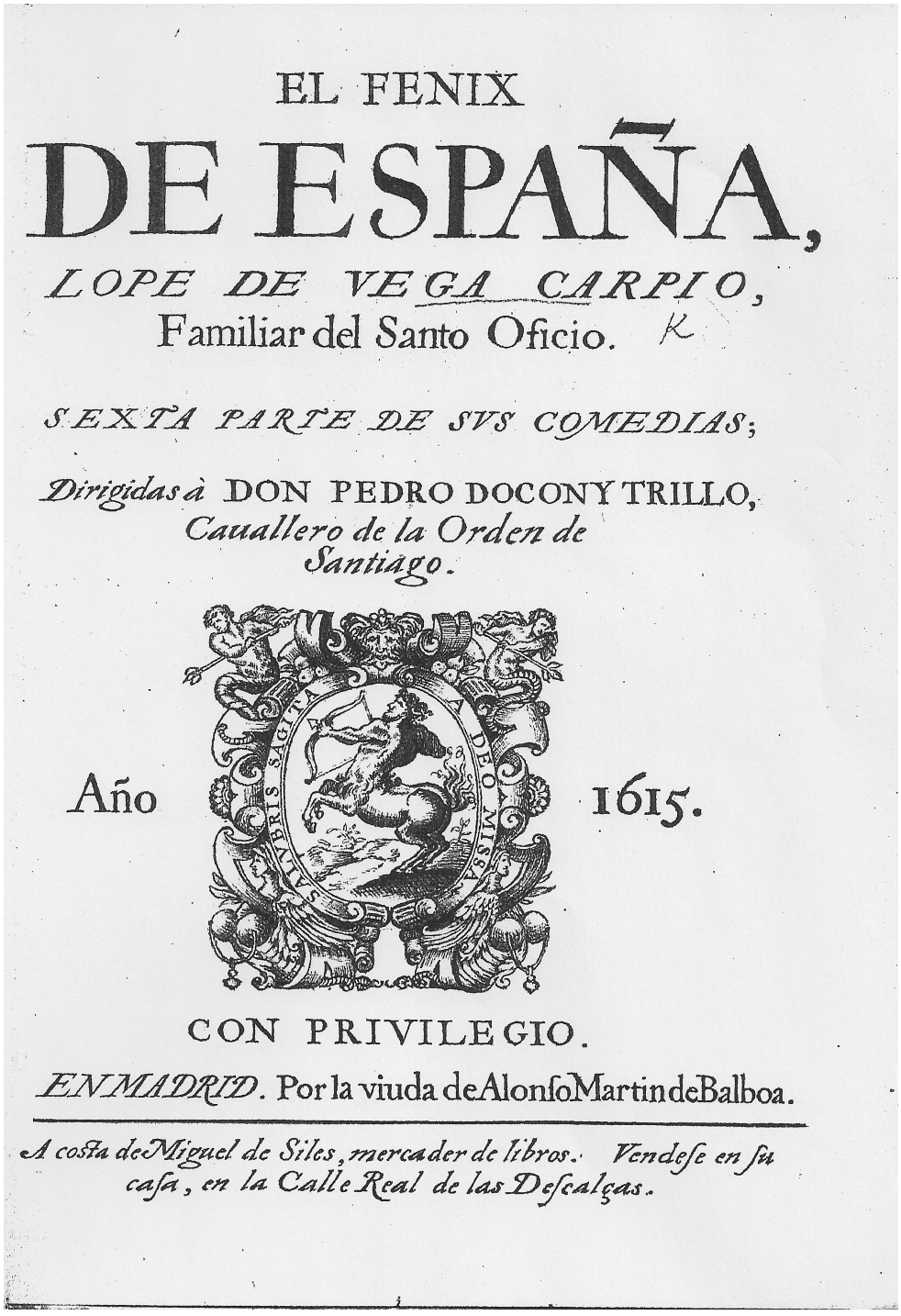
The way Virués’s *Obras trágicas y liricas* is punctuated is in sharp contrast. From the very first page one is aware that there are no glaring errors, and that, by comparison with modern editorial criteria, the text is consistently underpunctuated, suggesting a rhetorical, rather than grammatical approach, as the following example, from Act II of *Atila*, shows:

Atila. Tu sola te queda aqui
para que sea cumplida
esta vitoria tenida
teniendote junto a mi,
Que si el recibido gozo
que con el preso Rei siento
a ti no te da contento
cairasseme a mi en un pozo,
Flamin. Yo estoi mi Atila de suerte
que ya no tengo en mi parte
con que pueda contentarte
sino con mil ofenderte.
Atila. Dime tu enojo i passion
Flaminia pues sabes que
por remediarla pondre
la sangre del coraçon. (Virués 1609: fol. 99r)

A modern, grammatical approach to the punctuation of this passage would certainly add commas before and after the words 'sola' and 'mi Atila' and after 'aqui' and 'contento', and arguably after 'tenida', 'gozo', and 'siento' as well. This lack of punctuation probably gives an indication as to how fast the lines were intended to be spoken. The text was almost certainly punctuated by Virués himself, whose own approach to orthography, which, as the aforementioned disclaimer showed, was quite different to that of the printer, reflected not only the modern sense of 'manera correcta de escribir las palabras' (*MM* II: 2131), but also the significant additional nuances of meaning contained in the definition in *Autoridades*: 'El Arte que enseña à escribir correctamente, *y con la puntuación y letras que son necessarias, para que se le dé el sentido perfecto, quando se lea*' (*Aut* V: 61b; my italics). Virués may, of course, have decided to take matters into his own hands simply because he was exceptional in wanting to retain control of the way his edition was spelled and punctuated, but it is also plausible that his intervention resulted from a lack of faith in the ability of Medina's print-shop to punctuate the text.

One cannot know whether the person who punctuated *Ocho comedias* was the same person in whom Virués may have had such little faith, since a period of over six years passed between the publication of the two volumes. It is, however, much more likely that the corrector of the *Sexta parte* was the same as for Cervantes's book, since

the collection of Lope's plays appeared less than six months before. Examination of it reveals a publication altogether more lavish, printed on thicker, higher quality paper and boasting a particularly impressive title page (*Fig. 7*), in which the italic type is of extremely high quality, and which is adorned by a magnificent decorative stamp, with a picture of a centaur drawing a bow at its centre.



EL FENIX
DE ESPAÑA,
LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO,
Familiar del Santo Oficio.

SEXTA PARTE DE SVS COMEDIAS;

Dirigidas à DON PEDRO DOCONY TRILLO,
Cauallero de la Orden de
Santiago.

Año 1615.

CON PRIVILEGIO.

EN MADRID. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin de Balboa.

A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros. Vendese en su casa, en la Calle Real de las Descalças.

Fig. 7: Title page of Lope's Sexta parte

That more money should have been spent on Lope's volume is hardly surprising, given that it was risk-free venture for a bookseller, unlike the *Ocho comedias*. However, closer inspection of the *Sexta parte* immediately shows that the book is more impressive merely from a cosmetic point of view, since it is punctuated with the same lack of care as Cervantes's plays. The following passage, a dialogue between the King of France and Enrique, his *privado*, is taken from the very first page of the play with which the collection begins, *La batalla del honor*. It is punctuated in two ways: the first as found in the original and the second according to modern grammatical criteria.

Rey. El pagar, pension del gozo
fue siempre del mundo ley:
Desde que el hombre primero
nos puso en tal sugecion,
pues quantos mortales son,
passan por rigor tan fiero,
No viue el Rey con seguro
de que el mal no se le atreva.
En. Si, pero es cosa muy nueva,
romper sin fuerças vn muro.
Entre qualquier acidente,
pues ya por naturaleza
se les dà la fortaleza,
como atributo excelente. (Vega 1615; fols. 1r-1v)

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Pues quantos mortales son
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Neither *Ocho comedias* nor *Sexta parte* is well-punctuated, certainly not by modern, grammatical standards, nor, perhaps more relevantly, by the Early Modern, rhetorical standards that the *Obras trágicas* represent, which leads one to conclude that the corrector of *Ocho comedias*, who, we must remind ourselves, was a significant editor of the plays, did not engage with them at a deep enough level to be able to disentangle their meaning, either because he was not sufficiently educated, or because his duties as a typesetter did not afford him the time to do so. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that, unlike Virués, neither Lope nor Cervantes were involved in the way their texts were punctuated. There could be a number of reasons for that lack of involvement. Firstly, they may not have attached enough importance to the matter; secondly, their preoccupation with other projects may not have allowed them the time to become embroiled in the mammoth task of attempting to exert control over the way in which their texts were edited; and finally, they may not themselves have been sufficiently conversant with any of the rules that governed the punctuation of printed texts, in so far as any existed, to be able to have any constructive input. The last explanation is, of course, the most controversial, because it would suggest that, by modern standards, neither of them was fully literate. However, as Andrés Angulo's comment, that 'pocos ay que *aunque sean muy letrados* entiendan esto' (see p. 123), reminds us, modern standards of literacy cannot be applied to Golden Age literature, even its most iconic figures.

Marking up the punctuation of the original was only one of the tasks that was carried out by the corrector. He was also responsible for proofing the printed sheets, so we need to determine how well he carried out that task before we are able to fully evaluate the level of his skill and experience. Judgement is therefore suspended for the moment, and we will return to the corrector later, when considering the proofing process, but first it is necessary to consider the way the text was set.

7

The Process of Production

Ocho comedias was printed in a format known as *cuarto conjugado* (quarto in eights). In this method of production, the most common one in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, each side of a printed sheet, known as a *forme*, contained four pages of the printed edition. One sheet was folded twice and placed inside another, producing a *gathering* of sixteen pages (see Appendix 1, pp. 208-09).

Pages were not set consecutively (see Appendix 1, Table 1, p. 210), partly because of the chronic shortage of type, and partly because doing so would not have allowed one to maintain an efficient rhythm of production. It was therefore necessary to 'cast off', in other words to calculate the space that would be occupied by pages that had not yet been set. A vital part of preparation was thus *la cuenta del original*, which involved marking up the original to indicate how much space each part of it would occupy in the printed edition. In the case of large editions, of which *Ocho comedias* is an example, Garza Merino (2000: 74) has suggested that it was more likely that *la cuenta del original* was carried out for each gathering in parallel with the process of setting the text, rather than in advance of the whole project. One problem with that hypothesis, however, is that, working in this way, it would only have been possible to make a rough calculation about the length of the book, based on the correspondence between a page of the original and a page of the printed text, and one imagines that both bookseller and printer would have preferred to have a more precise idea about the size of the project from the outset, in order to have a clear idea of costs. Paredes points out that it is easier to count works of poetry than those written in prose, but adds that, in the case of plays, stage directions and shared lines can be a complicating factor:

> Si lo que se ha de contar son versos, no tiene dificultad alguna, pues contando cada verso por vn renglon, esta ajustado: salvo si son Comedias, que en este caso se ha de tener atencion a las salidas, y al verso en que hablan dos ò tres personas, y quando no cabe en vno, se puede aquel verso poner en dos, o en tres renglones. (Paredes 1984: fol. 36r)

One example of the truth of Paredes's observations can be found on folio 183v of *La entretenida*, where the lack of space makes it necessary to break the house rule of not splitting shared lines, resulting in a very untidy layout (*OC*: 183v).

Once *la cuenta* had been carried out, the process of composition, or setting of the text, could begin. Jaime Moll (2000: 14) states that the the *componedor* or *cajista* would have served a apprenticeship of some six years, and known the correct orthography of the language he was setting. Rico, however, points out that a number of typesetters of the period were foreign workers, in particular German, French and Flemish, many of whom had not mastered Spanish (2005: 76). Whatever their nationality, enjoyment of alcohol was apparently one thing they could share. Vervliet (1959: 101) mentions a document written in 1607 or 1608, by Jan Moreto of the Plantin printing house, which warns against drinking to excess, and hints that drunkenness may have been rife in the profession, while a poem entitled *De et pro Typographis* (ed. Wyschart 1995), written in 1606, depicts printers as 'grandes bebedores que gastan todo su sueldo tan bajo en bebida'.[1] It is easy to understand why typesetters might have chosen to drown their sorrows. The working week was seventy-two hours—12 hours a day Monday to Saturday—with the incessant noise of the presses in one's ears and the constant stench in one's nostrils of the urine that was used to keep the sheepskin inking balls supple (Gaskell 1972: 55 & 126). Extremes of temperature could also contribute to making the working environment uncomfortable. *Ocho comedias* was in production from late July to early September 1615, when the heat of the Madrid summer must have been insufferable. Such conditions make it easy to understand why, as McKenzie found(2002: 21), attitudes to work were quite different to our own, with workers tending to work enough to satisfy basic needs such as food and drink, and no more. Piece-work did not necessarily mean that workers worked longer or faster, and absenteeism, according to Gaskell (1972: 55-56), was rife in the profession. Output rates before the eighteenth century varied considerably, and were on average much lower—seldom more than half—the later hypothetical norm of 1000 ens (1 en = approximately 2 mm) per hour (Gaskell 1972: 55). McKenzie, in *Printers of the Mind* (2002: 19-20), details the enormous fluctuation in rates of production he discovered at the Cambridge University Press.

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[1] Both references cited by Dadson (2000: 101-02).

Rough calculations of the typesetters' output for *Ocho comedias* support these findings. The book consists of sixty-six folded sheets, each of which contains eight pages, making 528 pages in all. The majority of these pages comprise two columns of approximately forty lines of type. Each column is about twenty-five ens in width, so each page is made up of roughly 2000 ens, and the book around 1,056,000 ens, which can be rounded down to 1,000,000, to allow for those pages not set in two columns. Exactly seven weeks elapsed between the granting of the *privilegio* and the signing of the *Fe de las erratas*, so, assuming a six-day week, the book was in production for forty-two days. Dividing the total number of ens (1,000,000) by forty-two produces a figure of just under 24,000 ens per day, which is about 2,000 ens (or one page) per hour. Since two teams of two typesetters, serving two presses, were almost certainly involved, that would mean that the average individual rate of production was 6,000 ens per day, or 500 ens per hour, which is very similar to Gaskell's estimate, and to what McKenzie found in his study of the Cambridge University Press. It must be stressed, however, that the rates are averages, and that typesetters were of widely differing capabilities. All of them were prone to error, as Paredes reminds us: 'El mas diestro Componedor, y mas satisfecho de lo que obra, al fin es hombre, y como tal sujeto à descuidos' (1984: fol. 42v).

The idea of normality is as equally misplaced when applied to the mode of production as it is in the context of output rates. McKenzie (2002: 16, n. 7), invoking Bowers's words of caution regarding the formation of bibliographical theories based on imperfect evidence, found that the term was, at best, of limited use. The core of McKenzie's argument, which resulted from a detailed analysis of the records of a print-shop, is that, with regard to production, 'the patterns which emerge seem […] to be of such an unpredictable complexity, even for such a small printing shop, that no amount of inference from what we think of as bibliographical evidence could ever have led to their reconstruction' (2002: 19-20). He later asserts that 'the idea that a "pattern" must be significant because it appears to indicate a regular method of work is one of the most perniciously seductive suppositions of current bibliographical analysis' (2002: 44). There was, of course, one overriding principle that governed the method of production of a print-shop, which was that the presses should not stand idle. However, because of the differences in output rates of both typesetters and pressmen, it is dangerous to assume, as Rico (2005: 88) and Garza Merino (2000: 83) have done, that compositors

would necessarily co-ordinate their labour in the service of this broad aim, preparing different pages of the same forme, or different formes of the same sheet, or different sheets of a gathering. The wisdom of McKenzie's argument is perhaps best illustrated by the divergence of opinion, amongst various authoritative sources, concerning the order of setting of the formes. Garza Merino (2000: 81) constructs a convincing case, based on her study of evidence of the way an original was counted, to suggest that the outer forme of the inner sheet was set first, and both Dadson (2006: 231) and Moll (Paredes 1984: xxi) support the view that the the outer forme (*el blanco*) was printed before the inner forme (*la retiración*). Cruickshank, however, suggests an order beginning with the inner forme of the inner sheet (1985: 57), and what Paredes writes, in an Early Modern source, adds weight to this view: 'Hazese un libro de à quarto dos pliegos en quaderno, su forma primera es seis, y siete, diez y onze; luego las tanteadas seràn las cinco primeras y en componiendo las dos siguientes, se tantearan la ocho, y nueve, para acabar la forma componiendo la diez y onze' (1984: fol. 35v).[2] Gaskell (1972: 127) proposes different national preferences, the English starting with the inner forme and the Germans and French with the outer forme, but he does not mention the Spanish.

The most likely explanation for this conflict of views is that the order of setting probably varied from job to job, and even within each job. The order is not, in any case, of crucial material importance to the question of editing, aside from the fact that knowing it might help one to determine where errors in casting off may have impacted on the setting of the text. However, since considering the mode of production is relevant to any attempt to summon up a picture of the working environment of Francisca Medina's print-shop, it is probably more appropriate to imagine a scenario that was, at least at times, haphazard and improvised, rather than one in which everyone always worked together in an orchestrated fashion, like so many parts of a well-oiled machine.

It has already been demonstrated that Cervantes's autograph was subject to alteration, firstly by the amanuensis, and secondly, and more significantly, by the corrector, whose role, according to Gaskell (1972: 111), could be fulfilled by the senior typesetter, especially in the smaller printing houses. The senior typesetter was not, however, the only compositor who may have introduced changes. Rico concluded from

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[2] The numbers that Paredes refers to are page numbers, which run from 1 to 16 within each gathering, and should not be confused with folio numbers, which run from 1r to 8v. Both sets of numbers, and their relationship to each other, can be seen in the illustrations in Appendix 1 (pp. 208-09).

his study of the printing of the second and third editions of *Don Quijote* that the typesetters undoubtedly altered the text in order to address problems that arose from over- or underestimates in casting off (2005: 192). In that instance the compositors were working from a *printed* original, which should have made estimates of the amount of space the text would require much more straightforward. An original in manuscript form, such as the one that would have been used in the production of *Ocho comedias,* may have been altered even more significantly. In precisely what way it is impossible to know, but because all of the full-length plays are written in verse, one is at least able to detect places where text is missing. In *La entretenida* there is a line missing in three different places: from the *redondilla* that follows line 696, and from the stanzas of *cuarteto lira* following lines 2010 and 2049. Elsewhere in *Ocho comedias* there is one missing line in *El gallardo español*, one in *La casa de los celos*, one in *El laberinto de amor* and one in *Pedro de Urdemalas*, so the proportion of missing lines in *La entretenida* is rather high. We cannot know at what point in the transmission of the text these omissions occurred or whether any of the missing lines are examples of the text being deliberately suppressed by the compositors. However, the fact that such mistakes survive in the printed edition does tell us something about the efficiency with which the text was proofed and the extent to which the author may have been involved in that process.

Proofing the Text

The main purpose of proof correction, as Gaskell (1972: 110-11) makes clear, was to make sure that the words of the text, referred to as 'substantives' in traditional bibliographic theory, were reproduced accurately. This task was performed by the corrector, whose role, as mentioned above, could be assumed by the senior typesetter. According to Paredes (1984: fol. 42v), the first thing he did was to check the signatures and running titles. If that was indeed the case, the number of blatant errors in the headlines of *Ocho comedias* is a damning indictment of his lack of care. Examination of

six different copies of the first edition revealed a considerable range of errors.[3] These can be categorized as follows:

- **Typographical errors**, for example, '*Iorada segunda*' on folio 19v of *El gallardo Español* in C.59.e.3, an error all the more extraordinary because it was a press 'correction' of the *'Iorada primera'* that appeared in some copies, including G.10183 and nn.7.3, so clearly this headline was scrutinized at some point.
- **Incorrect pagination**, of which there are nine examples up to and including folio 222r, common to all the editions viewed. These errors can be sub-categorized as follows:
    - wrong number (folios 15r, 34r, 69r, 127r, 136r, 151r, 222r)
    - type inverted (folio 117r, where the '7' is upside down)
    - type missing (folio 219r, where the '1' is missing)

  Folios 103r, 121r, 182r , 213r, 239r and 240r show errors in pagination in some copies but not others, indicating press corrections. From folio 241r onwards all the page numbers, in all the editions viewed, are wrong, a mistake brought about by the duplication of the numbers 239 and 240, with the result that the folios are numbered 239, 240, 239, 240, 241 etc..
- **Wrong Act** (folios 9v, 17v, 18v, 49v, 83v). Folios 19v and 21v are incorrect in some copies.
- **Wrong play** (folios 59r, 84r, 226r, 234r, 256r).
- **Headlines which are ungrammatical or lacking in continuity**. One example is '*Entremes del Las maravillas*' on folios 246v and 247r, a mistake that occurs because the headline '*Retablo de las maravillas*' has been abbreviated to '*Las maravillas*' in folios 247r and 249r. Another example, '*Entremes del Cueva de Salamanca*', can be seen on folios 250v and 251r, an error resulting from the migration of the verso running headline of *El viejo zeloso,* which appears in the same gathering (Ii).

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[3] The copies viewed were CERV.SEDÓ/8698 from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (online at http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=4994&portal=40); C.59.e.3 and G.10183, from the British Library, London; Vet. G2 e.2 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford; nn.7.3 from the Codrington Library, All Souls College. Oxford; and Hisp. 7.61., from the University Library, Cambridge.

One headline that defies categorization, because it is so bizarre, can be found on folio 11r of *El gallardo español.* It reads '*Del Gallardo Catalan',* an aberration that is difficult to explain as anything other than a joke on the part of one of the typesetters, perhaps one of Catalan origin himself. What is remarkable is not so much that this and so many other errors occurred, but that they could survive any conscientious proofing of the text. Once a forme had been printed, the chase, quoins and furniture that held it in place, together with any typographical items applicable to another forme, such as running titles, were re-used, and referred to as the 'skeleton forme' (Gaskell 1972: 109). In the case of *Ocho comedias*, different acts and even different plays would have appeared, not only in the same gathering, but on the same forme, so a typesetter, working under pressure on a complex project that involved sixteen discrete works, needed to be on his toes to ensure that no mistakes occurred in the headlines or in the continuity from verso to recto folios. An experienced corrector would have been well aware of the pitfalls. The checking of the running titles, catchwords and pagination was, after all, one of the most straightforward parts of his job. The fact that it was done so badly in the case of *Ocho comedias* strengthens the argument that there was no dedicated corrector employed for the project, and that his tasks were indeed carried out by a senior compositor, one who was not always focused on the context of what he was setting.

Various Early Modern sources, including Moxon (1962: 247) and Moreto (Vervliet 1959: 100), refer to the involvement of a *reader* in the proofing process.[4] Paredes (fol. 42v) explains that the corrector needs to *listen* to the original while checking the proof, otherwise there is the danger that the typesetter, having set the text incorrectly, reads out what he *should* have set, and Gonzalo de Ayala advises that the corrector 'ha de tener el oydo atento a lo que se lee' (Infantes 1982: 39).[5] The original was read aloud by the reader 'in a conventionalized sing-song' (Gaskell 1972: 112). Unless the text was unusually complex, the punctuation markings, referred to as 'accidentals' in bibliographical theory, would not be specified. One therefore needs to imagine the *Ocho comedias* receiving their first performance by such a reader, speaking rapidly and with no regard for dramatic meaning. Because of setting by formes, the pages read would often not be consecutive and might even come from different plays.

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[4] Both references cited by Dadson (2000: 106-07).

[5] Cited by Dadson (2000: 106-07).

La entretenida, for example, is connected with *El laberinto de amor* in gathering X, and with *Pedro de Urdemalas* in gathering Bb, so the outer forme of the outer sheet of gathering X comprises folios 161r, 162v and 167r of *El laberinto* and the title page of *La entretenida,* none of which run consecutively (see Appendix 1, Table 1, p. 210). While listening to the reader, the corrector, or senior typesetter acting for him, would have been focusing on the substantives, and therefore would not have taken in the sense of what was being read any more than the person who was reading it, which explains the numerous errors in punctuation referred to above.

Gaskell (1972: 115) states that it was common practice for authors to take part in proof-correction during the Early Modern period. Both Dadson (2000: 116-19) and Cruickshank (1973: 81) support that general view in their studies of Spanish practice, and their findings would appear to be corroborated by Paredes, who, in a handwritten marginal note (1984: fol. 42v), warns 'no se fie la correccion de solo el Autor'. Rico, on the basis of his own detailed analysis of the printing of *Don Quijote*, refutes the claims of Gaos and Schevill that Cervantes never intervened in the editorial process, and asserts that the most significant changes in the second and third editions can, without a shadow of doubt, be ascribed to Cervantes (2005: 36). However, one should be wary, on the basis of Rico's findings with regard to the *Quijote*, of drawing conclusions about the extent of Cervantes's involvement in the proofing of *Ocho comedias*. The glaring errors in the running titles alone are strong evidence that he did not subject the text to much scrutiny, which leaves one to wonder about the reasons for his lack of care. Perhaps, having already realized that Villaroel was not prepared to invest very much money in *Ocho comedias*, and that the end result was going to be of variable quality, his interest in the project had waned. Perhaps the other four projects with which he was involved, the most significant of which was the second part of *Don Quijote,* were competing for his attention. That would certainly provide a neat explanation for the discrepancy between Rico's findings and my own. Cervantes's age and ill-health, bearing in mind that he was sixty-seven years old and suffering from oedema (dropsy), may also have been factors that interfered with his ability to proof the text, or, indeed, to supervise any aspect of the book's production.

The exact number of proofs that were run off was subject to variation. Gaskell identifies three stages in the proofing process. The most important of these was the first proof, which was often followed by a 'revise', the purpose of which was to demonstrate

that any errors spotted in the first proof had been rectified. In the second stage an author's proof and its revise might be pulled, while in the final stage a press proof was printed, which provided a final check on headlines. Paredes (fol. 42v) seems to support these findings, explaining that the first proof is for the corrector, the second for the typesetter—to determine whether the error has been corrected—and the third for the pressmen, to check whether any letters have been displaced or if the paper has been placed on the press the wrong way round. He makes no mention, however, of a proof specifically intended for the author. If errors were discovered at the press proof stage they would be corrected on the press, but the cost of materials meant it was uneconomical to throw away the uncorrected version, which explains the discrepancies that can frequently be discovered in early printed editions, and which have already been alluded to above in the discussion of running titles. Gaskell (1972: 115) acknowledges that the three stages were not always adhered to and that some books were proofed more than others. Authors were not always involved in the process and revises were not aways printed. The evidence regarding *Ocho comedias* certainly suggests that no author's proof was made, and that as few as two, and certainly no more than three proofs were produced: the first proof; possibly a revise, although if the typesetter had assumed the corrector's role he may not have felt that it was necessary; and the press proof. While press-corrections certainly occurred, the efficiency with which they were carried out is highly questionable, since they did not pick up the errors in running titles and pagination, and that, according to Gaskell (115), was one of their main purposes.

Conclusion

Any transcription involves error, as comparison of *originales* with printed copy has shown (Rico 2005: 95). The *fe de erratas* of Francisco de Monzón's *Libro primero del espejo del principe Christiano* (1544) attributes the errors to the level of skill required and the number of people involved: 'No se deue ningún hombre discreto de marauillar de las negligencias y faltas que se hazen en la impresión, pues el primor del oficio es tan grande y pasa por tantas manos que no es mucho que en alguna parte quiebre.'[6] An assessment from the following century, in *Primera parte de cien*

[6] Cited by Dadson (2006: 240).

oraciones fúnebres (1660) is less philosophical and more critical in tone, ascribing the errors as much to lack of care as to the working conditions:

> Impresión sin erratas es casi impossible para quien sabe qué es emprenta y para quien no lo sabe, sino que solamente ha visto tantas peceçuelas menudas en manos de quien no lleva honra ni interés en que no salga errata, sino en acabar presto su tarea: y peceçuelas que cada una está de por sí, y atadas con un hilo se juntan a hazer la plana. La pluma son balas; la tinta, de trementina, que arranca las letras; las letras, algo parecidas unas a otras, la *n* a la *u* , la *o* a la *a,* la *c* a la *e*, etc.; la vista del corrector, de hombre, y a las veces muy occupado: y más, si le dan priesa el componedor y los que han de tirar la forma porque se les pasa la hora, allí están ciertas las erratas, porque va la prueba passada por los ojos, y no vista va leída, habiendo de ir deletreada con atención suma.[7]

From this attempt to reconstruct the process of the printing of *Ocho comedias* one may draw several important conclusions that are relevant to the approach to editing that has been adopted in the digital edition of *La entretenida*, which will be described in the following chapter:

- With regard to general layout, comparison with *Obras trágicas y liricas* and the *Sexta parte*, produced by the same print-shop, suggests that the way in which the verse was presented was not a matter of house style, but a feature requested by Cervantes or his publisher.
- It cannot be assumed that either the punctuation or spelling of *Ocho comedias* reflects Cervantes's own practice.
- In the matter of substantives *Ocho comedias* is reasonably accurate. However, the numerous mistakes in the running titles and the number of missing lines show that it was not conscientiously proofed either by the printer or by the author.
- The way the text has been punctuated frequently demonstrates a complete failure to understand the meaning, and cannot be justified either rhetorically or grammatically.
- A corrector was almost certainly not employed by the printing house. His tasks were most likely performed by a senior typesetter, corresponding to the third

[7] Reproduced by Simón Díaz (1983: 117) and cited by Rico (2005: 86).

> category described by Paredes: 'an experienced typesetter who does not know Latin, but who can consult the author if needs be'. That would explain the relative accuracy of the substantives by comparison with the accidentals, since the level of understanding required to check printed words against copy is considerably lower than that which is needed in order to punctuate a text consistently.

Material factors probably contributed significantly to the negative features of the edition. The low budget for the project may have led the printer to attempt to reduce costs in various ways, for example by not employing a dedicated corrector, by reducing the number of proofing stages, or by discouraging author involvement, which would have slowed down the process of production. In the business of printing, time was money, and the speed with which *Ocho comedias* was produced certainly indicates haste. Cervantes himself may also have been guilty of rushing through the project, especially since the production of *Ocho comedias* was nested within that of the *Segunda parte*, which must have competed significantly for his attention. Moreover, the particularly uncomfortable working conditions that would have prevailed in late July and August may well have had a detrimental effect on the quality of the work carried out.

Dadson, having traced the lengthy process of printing, from author's pen to published edition, raises the important question '¿qué momento en éste proceso representa la voluntad del autor?' (2006: 242). He concludes that 'el texto impreso, si él (el autor) participó en el proceso, que era lo mas frecuente, representa probablemente sus ultimos deseos y éstos hay que respetarlos' (242). While I would certainly concur that one needs to respect the first edition, particularly when no autograph exists, one also needs to be careful of making assumptions about the extent to which it represents the author's wishes. In the case of *Ocho comedias* Cervantes's wish, judging by what he writes in the prologue about attempting to interest actor-managers in his plays, was that they could have been performed in his lifetime. Having them published was a compromise, an attempt to rescue them for posterity through the technology of print, a medium about which he felt deeply ambivalent. Moreover, the evidence points to the fact that, having signed an agreement with Villaroel, he had little involvement with the process of production.

Writing in 1920, Schevill and Bonilla were scathing in their evaluation of *Ocho comedias*:

> Desde el punto de vista tipográfico, bien poco tiene de recomendable el volumen de las *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nvevos, nunca representados*, impreso en 1615. La impresión es mala, y sin duda fue poco costosa: los tipos, rotos y usados: el papel, detestable, y poco grato el aspecto de las páginas. Los distintos ejemplares que hemos tenido ocasión de examinar en las bibliotecas de Europa y América, adolecen de los mismos defectos, aunque se observan algunas variantes entre ellos, como si el impresor hubiese querido enmendar ciertos yerros, a medida que los pliegos iban tirándose. Así, tipos invertidos en algunos ejemplares, aparecen bien colocados en otros. Donde en unos se lee «intento » dícese en otros «intentos». El ajuste es también deplorable a veces, y las letras resultan demasiadamente separadas unas de otras. De nuestras Notas habrá inferido el lector cuán grande es el número de erratas, que hacen del volumen algo peor impreso aún que la Parte I del *Quixote*. Si el librero a quien Cervantes vendió sus comedias, quiso ostentar su menosprecio por los versos del autor (según este declara en el Prólogo), logró su propósito, poniendo de su parte cuanto podía para desacreditar el libro. (1920: 63)

While the book was clearly printed on a lower budget than Lope's *Sexta parte*, their criticism of the book's typographical deficiencies is somewhat exaggerated and not a little unfair, failing to fully take into account the circumstances in which books were produced in the Early Modern period. There is, for example, little basis for the criticism of the spacing of the letters, and the press variants they refer to would be found in any book of the period. Moreover, it is absurd to suggest that the publisher of the book deliberately set out to sabotage the project in order to express his low opinion of Cervantes's plays. One cannot help but wonder whether their adverse assessment of the volume's physical features was coloured by their negative appraisal of the plays themselves.[8]

Far from presenting a sad sight to the reader, as Schevill and Bonilla claim, *Ocho comedias*, for all its obvious defects, is a volume that can be regarded as a triumph, both for Francisca Medina and her journeymen typesetters, who produced it, on a low budget

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[8] 'Entristece la contemplación de este tomo, en el cual quiso Cervantes fundamentar su derecho a ser tenido por autor dramático; y aún es mayor la pena, si consideramos que lo mejor de su teatro quedó tal vez sin imprimirse. ¿No será probable que lo más espontáneo se haya perdido? Nada puede afirmarse sobre ello; pero es lastimoso, para el crítico que haya de juzgar objetivamente, reconocer que este tomo, tal como ha llegado a nosotros, jamás hubiera llamado la atención, si no hubiese sido por el nombre que figura en la portada, por algunas escenas sueltas, y por buen número de los entremeses, que resplandecen como diamantes entre el fárrago de páginas mediocres' (1920: 64).

and in appalling working conditions, and for Cervantes, whose faith in the printed book as a means of protecting the legacy of his writings for the stage was vindicated. For in spite of the fact that the book contains a number of typographical errors, that the spelling is not representative of the author, and that the punctuation often conspires to obscure rather than illuminate the meaning, what is essential survives, and much of what is missing can be reconstructed through imaginative reading. The imperfections ultimately do not matter, any more than the hisses, pops and scratches on a old gramophone record really matter, because what emerges, despite the limitations of the technology, is the artist's voice, not exactly as live performance would have rendered it, but still powerful enough to be heard. Like a sound recording, the printed edition of *Ocho comedias* captures one moment in the history of the work. The challenge for the modern editor of a text of this kind is similar to the one that faces the modern sound engineer when confronted with a scratchy disc: to remove the background noise and allow the voice to speak more clearly; to find a way of editing that privileges performance while at the same time reflecting a respect for the first edition; to re-present the *nunca representados.*

III

THE DIGITAL EDITION OF *LA ENTRETENIDA*

8

Re-presenting the '*Nunca Representados'*

> Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read: Remember the life of these things consists in action. (John Marston)[1]

In Early Modern Spain the decision to print a volume of plays was usually taken in order to combat piracy of one's work, as for example in the case of Lope de Vega's *Partes*. However, when Miguel de Cervantes, disillusioned by the lack of interest shown in his plays by the actor-managers of theatre companies, struck a deal with the bookseller Juan de Villaroel for the publication of his *Ocho comedias y entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*, his motivation was quite different: to avoid the plays being condemned to oblivion and to rescue his reputation as a dramatist for posterity. He understood that presenting the plays in another format, in this case the comparatively new technology of the printed book, thereby literally re-presenting the *nunca representados*, might have a positive effect on their reception: 'Pero yo pienso darlas a la estampa, para que se vea despacio lo que pasa apriesa, y se disimula, o no se entiende cuando las representan. Y las comedias tienen sus sazones y tiempos, como los cantares' (*VP:* 314, ll. 137-40). Cervantes realized that opinions about his ability as a dramatist might be altered by the passing of time, that 'a book changes by the fact that it does not change when the world changes' (Bourdieu and Chartier 1993), or, as McKenzie puts it, that 'new readers […] make new texts, and that their new meanings are a function of their new forms' (1999: 29).[2] However, as the following comment by Sansón Carrasco in the second part of *Don Quijote* shows, he was also only too aware of the difficulty of satisfying all the potential end-users: 'y, así, digo que es grandísimo el riesgo a que se pone el que imprime un libro, siendo de toda imposibilidad imposible componerle tal que satisfaga y contente a todos los que le leyeren' (*DQ* II. 3; 713).

The edition of *La entretenida* that I have prepared seeks to respond to the challenge implicit in the words of Sansón Carrasco through translation into a digital

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[1] From *Parasitaster*, *or the Fawne* (1606) in *The Plays of John Marston* (1934: vol. II, p. 144). Cited by Chartier (1999: 52).

[2] The quote from Bourdieu and Chartier is cited by Chartier (1994: 16).

format, one that presents the text in a way that, while it may still not satisfy everyone, may at least come closer to that impossible goal. It is the result of engaging with the play in a number of different ways, including translation into English, performance of that translation in a staged reading, and scholarship in the fields of textual criticism, bibliography and digital humanities. Approaching the text in these various ways has led me to understand the way in which one interacts with the text in terms of the following model:

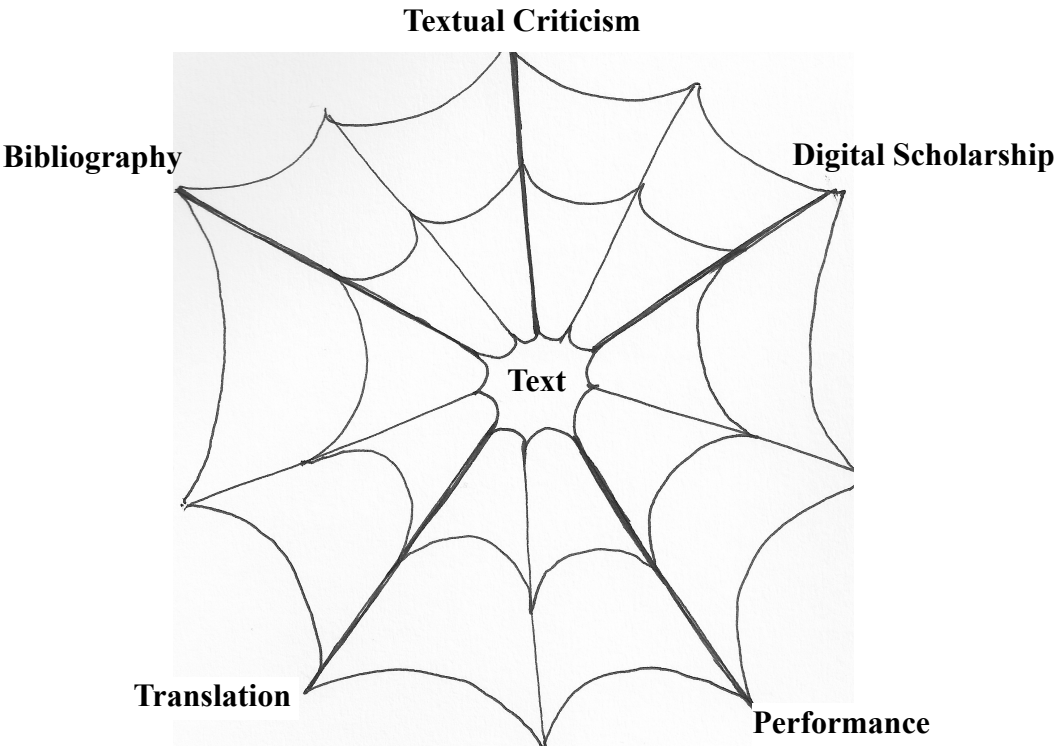

Fig. 8: A model for different approaches to the text

The web-like image connects us with the myth of Arachne, recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a collection of interwoven stories that Cervantes knew, since it is mentioned in the book-burning episode of *Don Quijote* (*DQ* I. 6: 95). Arachne aroused the jealousy of the god Athene by her skill at weaving stories into a tapestry (another form of translation) and was subsequently turned into a spider. The image of spinning is particularly appropriate, since, as Carruthers (1990: 12) points out, the word 'text' derives from the Latin *textus*, meaning something woven. Moreover, this association between storytelling and weaving is of special relevance to Cervantes, who, as was shown in Chapter 3, delights in creating a web of associations for the reader. Each of the

approaches to the text in the diagram represents a different point of entry, with its own primary focus. The translator, for example, may primarily be concerned with linguistic meaning and issues of performability and cultural transmission; the performer with plot, character, and stage directions; the bibliographer with the form of the text and conditions of the book's production and reception; the textual critic with the contextualization of the material at hand; and the digital humanist with its analysis and transformation. These different approaches, which are all acts of translation in at least one sense of the word, may be be distinguished for taxonomic convenience, but they are in fact all connected and interdependent. In journeying to and from the text one can move from one to the other, passing through as many points as one chooses, and one may even do so without being aware of it. Underpinning this theoretical model is the idea of a confluence of approaches to the text, and I would like now to offer some concrete examples of this theory in practice.

The following passage from the Sevilla Arroyo/Rey Hazas edition of *La entretenida* illustrates the pitfalls of editing, which can involve a delicate balancing act between the demands of orthography and performance:

MUÑOZ	Éste que viene podría	
	contaros el caso grave	
	con más luenga narrativa	
	que se halló presente a todo,	
	con gran dolor de su ánima.	
DON SILVESTRE	Ánima, querréis decir.	
MUÑOZ	No me importa a mí una guinda	
	pronunciar con dinguindujes.	(*LE*: ll. 2635-42)

Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas describe their editorial criteria as follows: 'Editamos las dos comedias […] con un criterio de esencial apego a la principe, intentando reproducirla con la mayor fidelidad y limitándonos a actualizar lo puramente gráfico u ortográfico' (*LE*: LVII). The accent over the first syllable of Muñoz's 'ánima', in the fifth line, does not, however, have purely orthographical significance, since it misses the metapoetical joke: Cervantes needs to preserve the *í-a* rhyme in assonance of the *romance* (podr-*í*a, narrat-*i*va, etc.) so his intention is to have the squire Muñoz pronounce the word 'ánima' with the stress in the wrong place, in other words as

‘anímа’. Don Silvestre corrects him, and Muñoz reacts irritably, letting fly with some colourful language in the process. The editor, occupied with editing the text (and the rest of the complete works) ‘correctly’, is not, a least at this point, focusing on dramatic meaning. Spotting the error was a result firstly of trying to make sense of the passage as a translator, and secondly of performing the text imaginatively in the source language, with an awareness of the verse form. Examination of the first edition revealed that there are no accents on either of the two occurrences of ‘anima’, a sign that the person in Francisca Medina’s print-shop responsible for punctuating the text—probably a senior typesetter—did not understand the joke either. Thus, translation and performance contribute both to the bibliographical understanding of the conditions of production and to the scholarly edition of the text. The translator is still left with the problem of rendering the joke in the target language, but at least he or she will know from which point to start.

Just as translation and performance can help bibliography, so a bibliographical approach can benefit the translator and performer. At the end of *La entretenida* the characters leave the stage one by one, delivering their final lines as they depart. However, the exit of Don Antonio, one of the main characters, is not apparently signaled in a stage direction, but in the final speech of the servant Dorotea, who then leaves the stage:

DOROTEA Sin Marcela, don Antonio
se entra amargo el corazón. (*LE*: ll. 3068-69)

Éntrase

The inconsistency is resolved if an exit is added to the end of Dorotea’s previous speech, which sounds much more like a parting lament, and if the two lines above are given to Don Antonio. The basis for doing so is clear from an examination of the first edition: the typesetters have mistaken the ‘*Don.*’ used as an abbreviation to indicate the speeches of Don Antonio, for the ‘*Dor.*’ used for Dorotea.

Thus far it has been demonstrated how different approaches to the text can be mutually beneficial. A digital edition is ideally suited to expressing these different perspectives, as I hope to show. Digital scholarship is not, however, simply a means of producing a website, subservient to the needs and requirements of the bibliographer,

textual critic, translator or performer, but an intrinsically valuable way of deepening one's thinking about the text, and therefore an equal partner in the theoretical model proposed in *Fig. 8*. In the case of *La entretenida* the preliminary analysis of the source material, which is an essential first step in the process of digitization, had a profound effect on my thinking about the play and about Cervantes's work in general. Thus, an analysis of 'names' led to an interesting discovery with regard to the geography of the play, which, with its Madrid setting, would normally be classified as an urban comedy. If one maps each place name that is mentioned (see *Fig. 9*) one becomes aware that Cervantes takes us on a imaginative journey to some remote corners of the world, including Peru and Africa, as well as to parts of Spain and the Mediterranean, for example areas of Andalucía—most of them noted for the excellence of their wines—that he knew well from his time as an itinerant tax collector, and parts of Rome with which he became familiar from the time he spent there as chamberlain to Cardinal Acquaviva.

Fig. 9: A map of places mentioned in La entretenida

The setting of the play may be Madrid, but the city is contextualized by its relationship to the rest of the world and to the geography of Cervantes's life. That realisation led to the decision to include an index of place names in the website (http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/indices/places.html).

The digital edition of *La entretenida* seeks to reflect the various approaches to the text that have informed it by presenting the play from a number of different perspectives. Underpinning the rationale for such a multi-perspective approach is the idea of the inherent instability of the text, for which there are two contributory factors. The first of these is the nature of theatre as a genre, where the meaning of the script can change from performance to performance as the result of the intervention of the actor and/or director—a quality that led the director Peter Brook to write that 'theatre is always a self-destructive art, and it is always written on the wind' (1972: 18). If instability, or 'self-destructiveness' is a quality of all theatre, then *La entretenida* is a particularly unstable example of the genre. Influenced by two plays of Plautus, an improvising actor turned playwright, and by the improvised *commedia dell'arte,* the play itself, involving a labyrinthine plot woven out of confusion over names and assumed identities, often resembles an improvisation, thanks to the interventions of various rival scriptwriters that Cervantes locates within the play.

Another major factor that contributes to textual instability are the conditions of production of the first edition. As with the majority of Spanish Golden Age plays, there is no surviving autograph, and the punctuation markings are the work of either a corrector, a senior typesetter, or the journeymen working beneath him. These were, in effect, the first editor or editors of the play, albeit anonymous ones. While such men were sometimes highly qualified for their task, frequently they were not, and, in any case, the pressurized environment of a print-shop, where time was money and everything was geared to speed of production, rather than to the disentangling of the finer nuances of a complex plot such as that of *La entretenida,* meant that they were often prone to error, as the following example from the first edition shows:

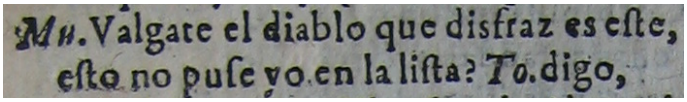
Mu. Valgate el diablo que disfraz es eſte,
eſto no puſe yo en la liſta? To. digo,

Fig. 10: Part of fol. 175r

Muñoz's 'Esto no puse yo en la lista' is a statement, not a question. Muñoz wrote the list himself, and Torrente's disguise was not intended to be part of it. So what we have is an exclamation (¡Válgate el diablo!), followed by a question (¿Qué disfraz es éste?), followed by a statement ('Esto no puse yo en la lista'). In the face of such clear errors of interpretation one is inclined to echo Theseus's reaction to Peter Quince's prologue to the Rude Mechanicals' play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'This fellow doth not stand upon points' (Act V, Scene 1, l. 122).[3] Copy-text theory has traditionally referred to punctuation as 'accidental' rather than 'substantive', thus implying that it is less important, but, just as in music an accidental changes the pitch of a note and thus completely alters the sense of a phrase, a misplaced or ill-chosen accidental in the text of a play might make a scene unintelligible for either the performer or spectator. Rico's remarks regarding *Don Quijote* have universal relevance: 'mientras la sustitución de una ce por una zeta o la supresión de una hache difícilmente podían traicionar el texto de Cervantes, la superposición de puntos y comas o de tildes a un discurso nacido sin ellos sí era capaz de dañarlo y nos consta que lo dañó' (2005: 163).

McKenzie described the instability of texts in the following terms, and in so doing made a connection with the special qualities of theatre as a genre: 'It (the work) may be conceived of as always potential, like that of a play, where the text is open and generates new meanings according to new needs in a perpetual deferral of closure' (1999: 37). It is significant that McKenzie fought to expand the discipline of bibliography to include non-book texts, for the digital edition of *La entretenida* seeks to create this very quality of openness to which he refers, and is indeed the ideal format for doing so, since, unconfined by the limitations of space imposed on a physical edition, it can present a number of different views of the text. In the website of *La entretenida* five versions are provided:

1. Images of a copy of the first edition (nn. 7.3) from the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford. Whether or not one considers that it reflects the intentions of the author, the first edition is clearly a vital historical document and a point of departure for any serious study of the text.
2. A transcription of the first edition, with modernized orthography, which retains the punctuation of nn. 7.3.

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[3] Shakespeare *Complete Works* (2007: 405).

3. My own editorial view of the punctuation, arrived at by reading the text aloud and punctuating it in a way that privileges the music of the verse.
4. A view that, like the autograph copy that Cervantes would have handed over to the amanuensis, is unpunctuated, and allows the scholar or theatre professional to mark the text as they see fit. Nicholas Hytner, artistic director of the National Theatre, is one theatre practitioner who has expressed a preference for just such an unpunctuated script (2005: 164). An unmarked text requires the actors to discover the meaning of the verse for themselves—a process that may be particularly important for Spanish actors, whose links with their own theatrical traditions have been broken at various times in history, for example by the closing down of the *corrales* at the end of the seventeenth century.
5. A translation into English, which formed the basis for a staged reading at King's College London in May 2007.

Shillingsburg (1996: 17-27) distinguishes the different approaches to editing as *documentary*, *sociological*, *bibliographic*, *authorial*, and *aesthetic*, and claims that all except the documentary approach 'have in common a basic, questionable, assumption about works of art: that the end product of composition can and should be one text representing what the author wanted or should have wanted'. The digital edition of *La entretenida*, by seeking to incorporate all of these approaches, makes no such assumption about any of the versions that it presents. None of them is claimed to be the correct one, in accordance with McKenzie's view that there can be no definitive text: 'All the versions imply an ideal form which is never fully realized but only partly perceived and expressed by any one' (1999: 51).

The second, third and fourth views, of those listed above, are connected through the encoding model for the website, which allows one to select the punctuation of either the first edition (version 2), or of my editorial view (version 3), or to suppress both (version 4). My own view of the text is based on the conviction that Cervantes wished his plays to be read aloud. The fact that he had the plays printed does not necessarily mean that he wanted to them to be read *silently*, since, as Frenk (1982: 103) has shown, there were two other kinds of reading that were commonplace in the Early Modern period, namely reading aloud by oneself, and reading aloud in groups. There are several

references to that kind of communal reading of stories in *Don Quijote*, a novel that Rico describes as 'not so much written as spoken'.[4] In Chapter 32 of the first part, the innkeeper, defending novels of chivalry, reminisces thus: 'cuando es tiempo de la siega, se recogen aqui las fiestas muchos segadores, y siempre hay algunos que saben leer, el cual coge uno destos libros en las manos, y rodeámonos dél más de treinta, y estámosle escuchando con tanto gusto, que nos quita mil canas' (*DQ* I. 32: 404-05). The reader of a text was thus, as both Chartier (1994: 17) and Bouza (2004: 51) point out, often also its actor. Early Modern Spanish writers therefore often try to capture the sound of the voice in their writing (Bouza: 17-18). One example in *Ocho comedias* is the way Cervantes attempts to evoke the lisping speech of the gypsies in *Pedro de Urdemalas*:

> MALDONADO Pedro, ceñor, Dioz te guarde.
> ¿Qué te haz hecho, que he venido
> a buzcarte aquezta tarde,
> por ver ci eztás ya atrevido,
> o todavía cobarde? (*PE*: ll. 540-44)

Another example is provided by Quiñones's imitation of a Basque in the *Entremés del Vizcaino fingido*:

> QUIÑONES. Vizcaino, manos bésame vuestra merced, que mándeme.
> SOLÓRZANO. Dice el señor vizcaino que besa las manos de vuestra merced y que le mande.
> BRÍGIDA. ¡Ay qué linda lengua! Yo no la entiendo a lo menos, pero paréceme muy linda. (*EN*: 206)

In the context of these remarks it is interesting to note Frenk's comment that the word used to describe someone who attended a play was not 'spectator' (*espectador*) but 'listener' (*oyente*) (1982: 114). As an example Frenk offers the words of Don Quijote when he is about to confront the lions: '—Ahora, señor —replicó don Quijote—, si vuesa merced no quiere ser *oyente* desta que a su parecer ha de ser tragedia, pique la tordilla y póngase en salvo' (*DQ* II. 17: 833).

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[4] 'Prólogo' (Cervantes 1998d: 20). Cited by Chartier (2007: 34).

Punctuation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, at least from a theoretical point of view, reflects this connection between the spoken and written word Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582), an important Elizabethan instructional treatise on the matter, tells us that a comma 'warneth us to rest there, and to help our breath a little,' while a full stop indicates a longer pause 'to help us breath at full', and a colon signifies a pause of intermediate length (Mulcaster 1970: 148-49).[5] Graham-White summarizes the difference between Elizabethan and twentieth century approaches to punctuation as follows: 'Punctuation (then) was primarily rhetorical, though it also fulfilled some grammatical functions. Today it is a grammatical system, though it also fulfills some rhetorical functions' (1982: 96). However, while that statement may be accurate with regard to *writing*, and equally applicable to Golden Age Spain, printing houses, such as Francisca Medina's, were already adopting a grammatical approach, probably because it was quicker and more practical to enforce rules of house style—for example that 'y' should be always be preceded by a comma—than to consider whether a breath was required and, if so, of what duration. The first 'performance' of the text, by a reading boy speaking rapidly 'in a conventionalized sing-song' (Gaskell 1972: 112) while someone else checked for typographical errors, was not one that would have aspired to be dramatically meaningful. One must therefore question Cruickshank's assertion (1985: 93) that 'the accidentals of printed Spanish in the Golden Age were essentially rhetorical rather than the product of grammatical logic, as is now the case'.

The tendency of printing-houses to punctuate grammatically is now, as Cruickshank mentions, firmly established in modern editions of Golden Age plays, and can sometimes clash with the rhetorical intention of the verse, as can be seen from the following example from the Sevilla/Rey edition of *La entretenida*, where grammatical punctuation demands a comma after 'Yo', but at the expense of the elision between 'Yo' and 'aunque', which the octosyllabic metre of the *redondilla* requires:

DON SILVESTRE Yo, aunque primo verdadero,
ni quedarme en casa quiero, (*LE*: ll. 2993-94)

By contrast, my edition of the text (the third one on the list on pp. 162-63), attempts to punctuate it mainly from a rhetorical point of view. I have approached the text as a

[5] Cited by Jenstad et al. (2005: 20-21).

woodwind player might approach a piece of unedited music, trying to establish the best places to breathe, with the chief criterion being that the verse should be allowed to flow. As a result, it is considerably less punctuated than other modern editions, which is particularly apparent where lists of words are concerned, as the following example shows:

ed. Sevilla/Rey:

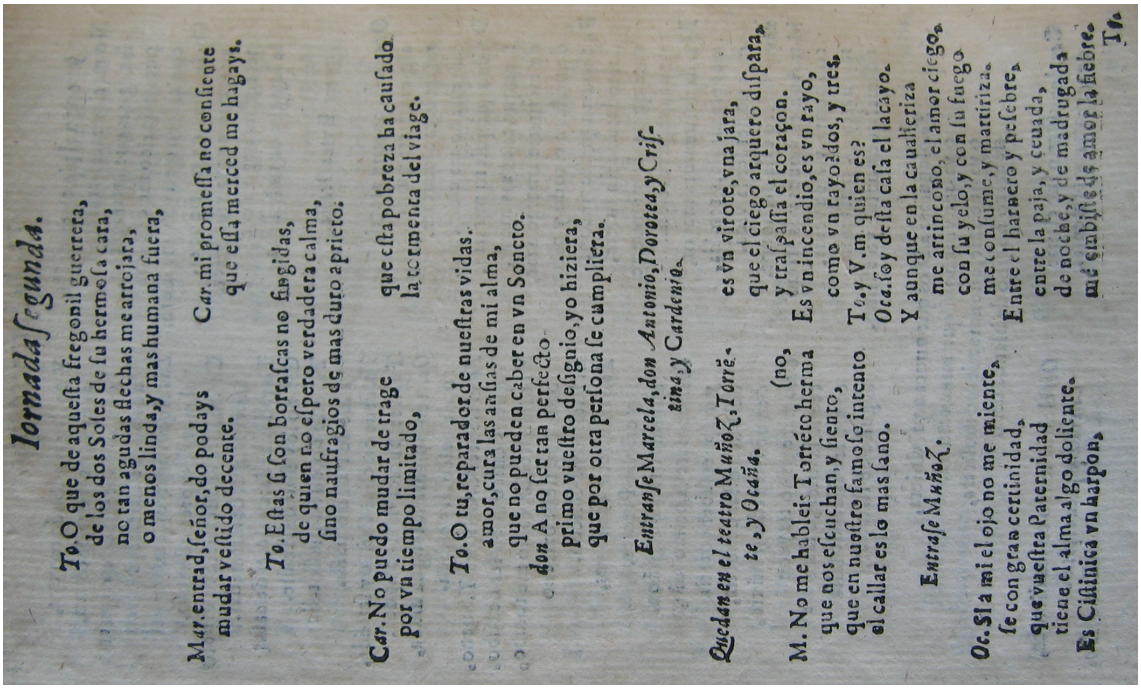
MARCELA Y es la causa que la dama
que aquél busca, adora y ama
como quiere Amor tirano,
es la misma que mi hermano
quiere, busca, nombra y llama. (*LE*: ll. 1587-91)

ed. O'Neill:

Y es la causa que la dama
que aquél busca adora y ama,
como quiere Amor tirano,
es la misma que mi hermano
quiere busca nombra y llama.

The digital edition of *La entretenida* privileges the verse not only in the way that it has been punctuated in my editorial view, but also, in all of the views of the Spanish, in the way that the verse appears on the page, which acknowledges the importance of poetic form as a major feature of Golden Age drama. Dixon (1985: 120) contends that 'the poetic structure of a *comedia* coincides with, *is* its dramatic structure', and likens the changes in verse form to changes in key signature. I would go even further and liken them to changes of musical *style* as well as key, and agree with him that they probably elicited applause or murmurs of approval from the spectators, rather like the kind of reaction one witnesses at a Flamenco performance. In *La Entretenida* Cervantes uses ten different verse forms, and changes between them fifty-five times, carefully selecting the form that best fits the dramatic situation: *redondillas* for snappy dialogue; hendecasyllabic *sueltos* for the lengthy narrative passages at the end of Act I; sonnets for moments of individual reflection; the ponderous Italianate *cuarteto lira* (a quatrain

in blank verse, with lines of seven, seven, seven and eleven syllables) for the comic portrayal of the boorish Don Francisco at the beginning of Act III; and a sudden shift to *tercetos* for the arrival of the New World cousin Don Silvestre later in the same act (see Appendix 2, Table 2, p. 213).



Jornada segunda.

To. O que de aquesta fregonil guerrera,
de los dos Soles de su hermosa cara,
no tan agudas flechas me arrojara,
o menos linda, y mas humana fuera,

Mar. entrad, señor, do podays
mudar vestido decente.

Car. mi promessa no consiente
que essa merced me hagays.

To. Estas si son borrascas no fingidas,
de quien no espero verdadera calma,
sino naufragios de mas duro aprieto.

Car. No puedo mudar de trage
por ya tiempo limitado,

que esta pobreza ha causado
la tormenta del viage.

To. O tu, reparador de nuestras vidas.
amor, cura las ansias de mi alma,
que no pueden caber en vn Soneto.

don. A no ser tan perfecto
primo vuestro desgnio, yo hiziera,
que por otra persona se cumpliera.

Entranse Marcela, don Antonio, Dorotea, y Crisfina, y Cardenio.

Quedan en el teatro Muñoz, Torre-te, y Ocaña.

M. No me hableis: Torrete herma
que nos escuchan, y siento,
que en nuestro famoso intento
el callar es lo mas sano.

es vn virote, vna jara,
que el ciego arquero dispara,
y traspassa el coraçon.

(no,
Es vn incendio, es vn rayo,
como vn rayo dados, y tres.

Entrase Muñoz.

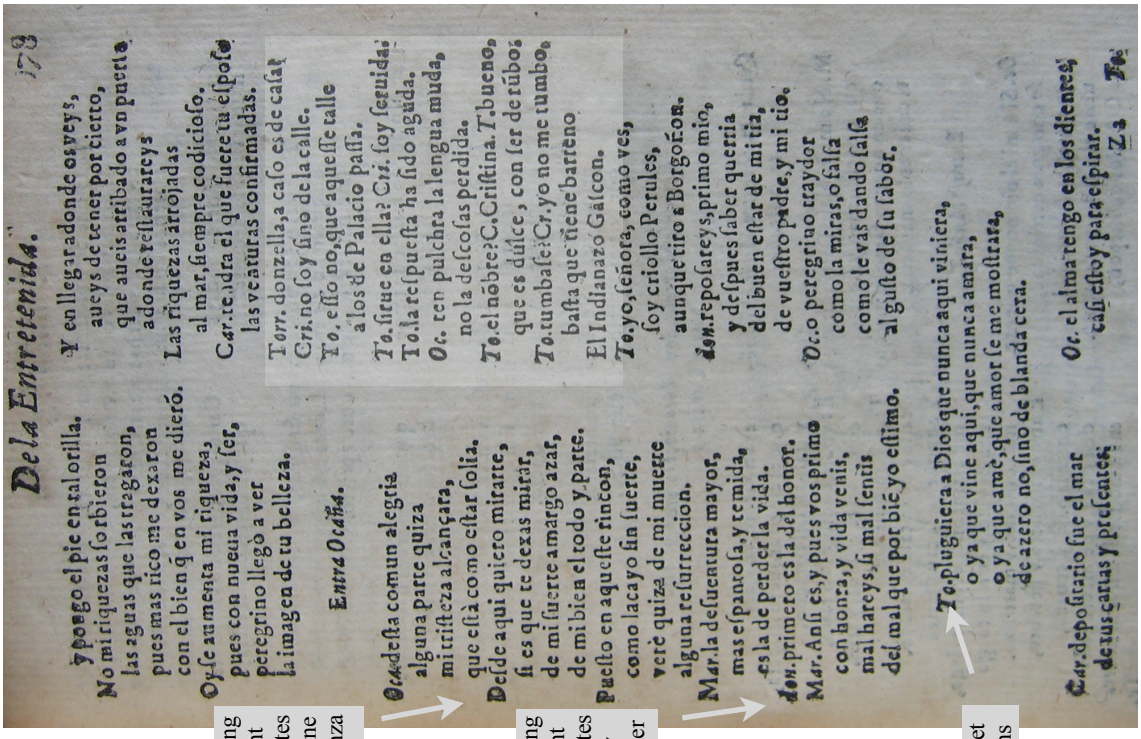
To. y V.m quien es?
Oca. soy desta casa el lacayo.
Y aunque en la cautieriza
me arincono, el amor ciego,
con su yelo, y con su fuego
me consume, y martiriza.

Oc. Si a mi el ojo no me miente,
se con gran certinidad,
que vuestra Paternidad
tiene el alma algo doliente.

Entre el harnero y pefebre,
entre la paja, y cevada,
de noche, y de madrugada
me cubrisse de amor la febre.

Es Cidinica vn harpon.

To.



Dela Entretenida. 178

y pongo el pie en tal orilla.
No mi riquezas sorbieron
las aguas que las tragaron,
pues mas rico me dexaron
con el bien q en vos me dieron.
Oyse aumenta mi riqueza,
pues con nueua vida, y ser,
peregrino llego a ver
la imagen de tu belleza.

Entra Ocaña.

Oca. desta comun alegria
alguna parte quiza
mi triſteza alcançara,
que esta como estar solia.
Desde aqui quiero mirarte,
si es que te dexas mirar,
de mi fuerte amargo azar,
de mi bien el todo y parte.
Puesto en aqueste rincon,
como lacayo sin fuerte,
verè quiza de mi muerte
alguna resurreccion.
Mar. la desventura mayor,
mas espantosa, y temida,
es la de perder la vida.
don. primero es la del honor.
Mar. Assi es, y pues vos primo
con honra, y vida venis,
mal hareys, si mal sentis
del mal que por bien yo estimo.

To. pluguiera a Dios que nunca aqui viniera,
o ya que vine aqui, que nunca amara,
o ya que amè, que amor se me mostrara,
de azero no, sino de blanda cera.

Car. depositario fue el mar
de tus cartas y presentes;

Oc. el alma tengo en los dientes,
casi estoy para espirar.

Z 3 To.

Fig. 11: Fols. 178r & 178v

The typesetters of the first edition of *La entretenida,* in accordance with general Early Modern printing-house practice, attempted to place the verse at the forefront in the way they set the text. Torrente's sonnet in Act II, which is interrupted by the snippets of conversation of the other characters, in *redondillas* (see *Fig. 11*), provides a good example. The typesetters were, however, handicapped, sometimes by lack of space, but chiefly because there was frequently a clash between the two functions that house style (or the preference of author or publisher) dictated for the hanging indent: on the one hand to indicate a new speaker, and on the other hand to indicate the first line of a stanza (see *Fig. 11*). In modern editions poetic form is obscured to an even greater extent, mainly because of publishing house practices such as the capitalization of the name of each speaker and the splitting of lines when spoken by different characters:

TORRENTE ¿Doncella acaso es de casa?
CRISTINA No soy sino de la calle.
TORRENTE Eso no; que aquese talle
a los de palacio pasa.
¿Sirve en ella?
CRISTINA Soy servida.
TORRENTE La respuesta ha sido aguda.
OCAÑA Ten, pulcra, la lengua muda;
no la descosas, perdida.
TORRENTE ¿El nombre?
CRISTINA Cristina.
TORRENTE Bueno;
que es dulce, con ser de rumbo.
¿Túmbase?
CRISTINA Yo no me tumbo.
Basta; que tiene barreno
el indianazo gascón.

Fig. 12: The text laid out as it appears in
La entretenida & *Pedro de Urdemalas*, ed. Sevilla/Rey, p. 65

An actor reading from such an edition may change from one verse form to another without even realizing that they have done so. The digital edition of *La entretenida*, on other hand, seeks to make the actor constantly aware of the verse by restoring and extending some of the practices that pertained in Francisca Medina's print-shop. As Cruickshank states, 'the seventeenth-century way of presenting speakers' names and stage directions is still one of the best' (1985: 101). The digital edition sets character names in italics and embeds them within the verse, as in the first edition, but it also renders them in bold to make navigation easier. Stanzas are separated by a space, a

luxury that, for reasons of cost, neither the original publisher nor even modern editions could afford, but that can easily be accommodated within a digital edition. The resultant output is one in which the verse springs off the page, thus helping the actor to understand how their lines are related to the overall structure and encouraging a faster pace of delivery, as may be seen from the screenshot below (*Fig. 13*), which may be compared with the highlighted text on folio 178r in *Fig. 11* and with *Fig. 12*:

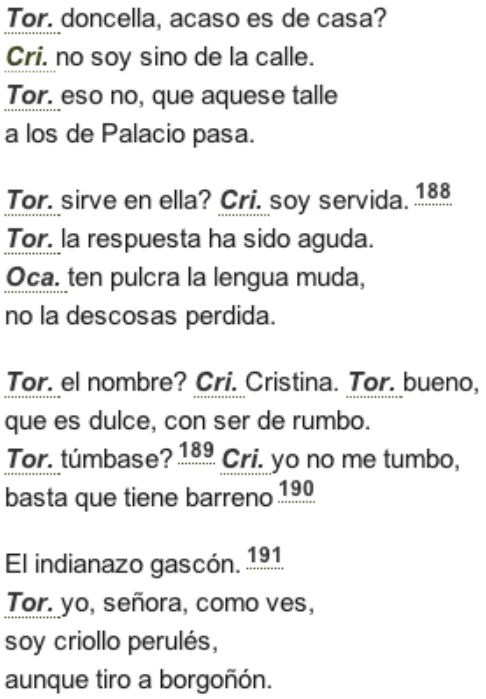


Fig. 13: Highlighting the verse form

The highlighting of verse form is one of several ways in which the edition privileges performance. The text has been encoded in such a way as to allow one to see, through the 'Performance Information' menu, who is on stage in a particular scene and what costume items, props and stage furniture are required (see *Fig. 14*). Costume, props and *décor* for the entire play can be viewed in the 'Performance Index', from which one can navigate directly to the scene in which those items are required. These features enable theatre practitioners, whether directors, actors, designers or stage-managers, to quickly establish what resources are required, without having to trawl through the entire play. Another component of the digital edition that has been designed with performance in mind is the 'Track Character' menu, where selecting a name results in all the speeches, exits and entrances of that character being highlighted (see *Fig. 14*).

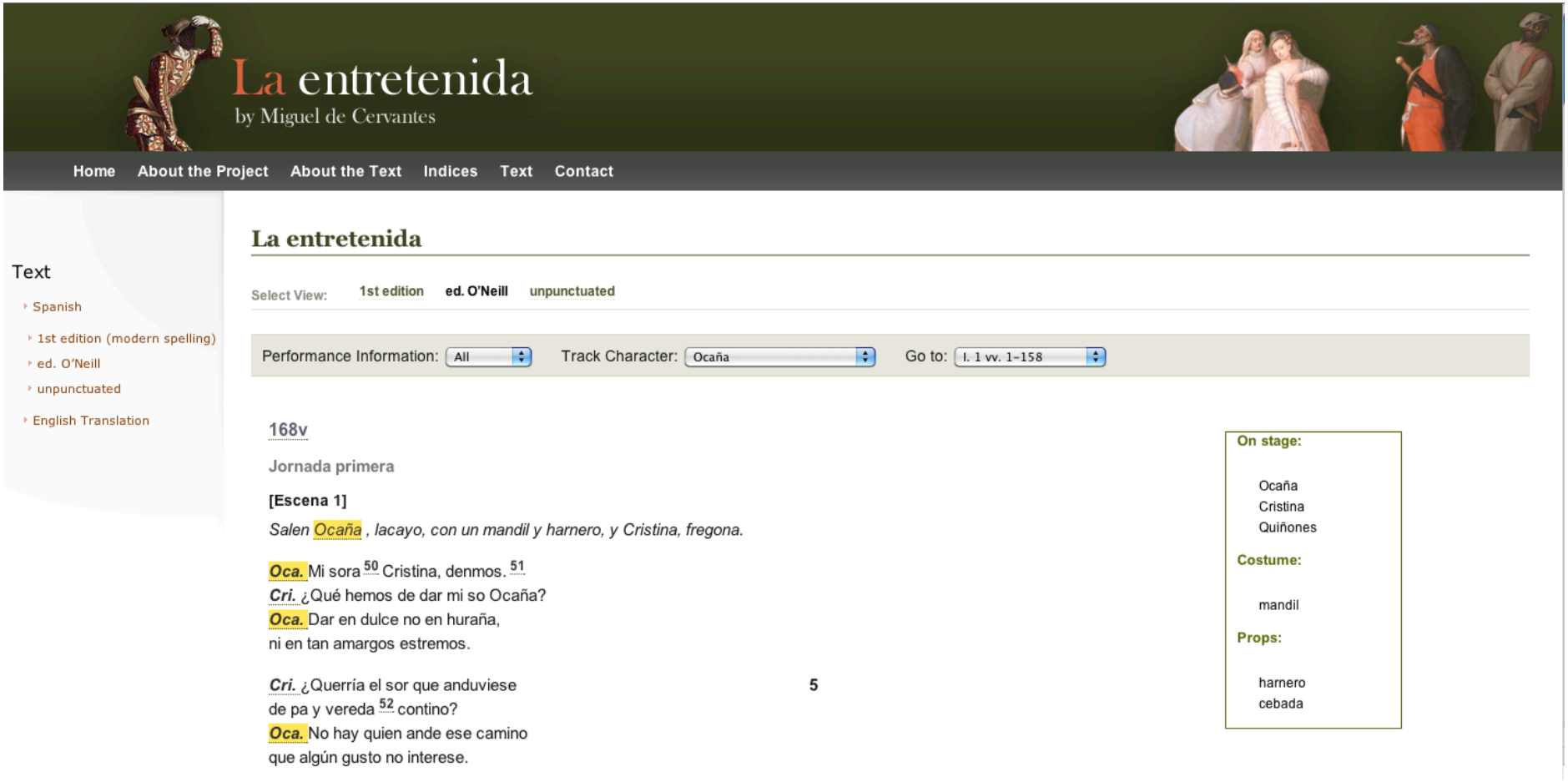


Fig. 14: The 'Performance Information', 'Track Character' and 'Go To' menus and the 'Select View' button

The digital edition features a number of other indices, apart from the 'Performance Index', all of which seek to map the play contextually. The associations of the word 'context' (from the Latin *contexere,* 'to weave together' or 'interweave'), are particularly relevant to Cervantes, because he is a writer who constantly makes connections between his works, and encourages his readers to do the same. In the case of *La Entretenida,* these connections can either be to other plays in the same volume or to other works. Cristina the *fregona* may remind us of the other 'sujetos fregoniles' to which he refers in *Viaje del Parnaso*: either the kitchen-maid of the same name who incites the rivalry between the soldier and the sexton in the *La guarda cuidadosa*, or the heroine of *La ilustre fregona*.[6] Similarly, the *alguacil*, whose attention is drawn by the uproar that ends the servants' interlude in Act III, and who demands access by hammering on the door, might remind us of the law officer who interrupts the domestic dispute in *El viejo celoso,* or of the quartermaster who disturbs the metatheatre in *El retablo de las maravillas*. Sometimes the connection is made at phrase level, for example through the use of a particularly striking wordplay. Thus, when Torrente malapropistically uses the word *cebollinas* ('spring onions'), instead of *cebellinas* ('sable'), he is repeating an error twice made by Sancho Panza in *Don Quijote* (*DQ* II. 14: 805 and *DQ* II. 53: 1163).

What results from all this interweaving is, as was mentioned in Chapter 3, a web of associations. The more one is familiar with Cervantes's work, the more one is likely to make hypertextual jumps from one place to another within these networks of meaning. A digital approach, in the form of what is both literally and metaphorically a *web*-site, can facilitate these jumps, and is therefore ideally suited to the editing of his texts. In this respect this edition of *La entretenida,* while it stands alone as the product of research focused on a neglected play, is also proposed as a model for a much larger project, a hypothetical encoding of the complete works of Cervantes. The aim has been to exploit the special advantages of digital texts with regard to search facilities, and to encode the text in such a way as to enable the generation of the following indices:

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[6] 'Yo, en pensamientos castos y sotiles, | (Dispuestos en sonetos de a docena) | He honrado a tres sujetos fregoniles' (*VP* IV: ll. 49-51).

1. **Names**

   - Historical, e.g. ‘El Cid’
   - Literary, e.g. ‘Lope de Rueda’
   - Mythological, e.g. ‘Aquiles’
   - Religious, e.g. ‘Amón’

2. **Places**, sorted by

   - Bloc (Europe or the New World)
   - Country (Bolivia, Italy, Peru and Spain)
   - Settlement (Madrid, Rome)
   - Building

3. **Language**

   - Specialist terminology (choreographic, culinary, equestrian, medical, military, monetary, musical, nautical, scientific)
   - Sub-languages (Italian, slang)
   - Proverbs and proverbial phrases

4. **Occupations**

The intention of these indices is to supplement the concordances that are already available, for example at http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_autor/Cervantes/concordancias.shtml, in order to furnish information that might help to provide a better picture of Cervantes, the world that he moved in and his artistic preoccupations. Although he may have rubbed shoulders with cardinals and aristocrats, Cervantes, as a soldier, prisoner and government civil servant, also moved amongst the underclasses, observing life from ground level. It is this experience that lends such realism to his portraits of farmers, students, gypsies, criminals and petty bureaucrats in *Ocho comedias*, and which makes his depiction of the servants in *La entretenida* so convincing. From a socio-historical point of view Cervantes’s writing is thus as

important in helping to provide a picture of his time as that of Dickens, or Balzac. Moreover, this is true with regard not only to the characters he depicts but also to the language he uses, since his writing is a veritable storehouse of proverbs and slang terms. In some cases, as for example when Cristina uses the words 'de pa y vereda' right at the beginning of the play, he provides us with the only recorded example of the use of a particular expression.[7]

The image of Cervantes's writing as a storehouse is significant, because it connects us with the Greek word *thesaurus* ('storage-room' or 'strong-box'), described by Mary Carruthers (1990: 33) as one of the two major metaphors for memory in ancient and medieval times, the other being that of the wax tablet. In the prologue to the *Ocho comedias*, Cervantes describes how, in response to the lack of interest shown in his plays, he threw them into a *cofre*, a word synonymous with *thesaurus,* and one that, in this context, he is probably using metaphorically.[8]

> Algunos años ha que volví yo a mi antigua ociosidad, y, pensando que aún duraban los siglos donde corrían mis alabanzas, volví a componer algunas comedias, pero no hallé pájaros en los nidos de antaño: quiero decir que no hallé autor que me las pidiese, puesto que sabían que las tenía; y así, las arrinconé en un cofre y las consagré y condené al perpetuo silencio. (*LE*: 14)

The problem with the individual memory is that it is limited by time, ultimately 'condemned to perpetual silence', a fact of which Cervantes, at the age of sixty-seven, was acutely aware. By agreeing to have his plays published, he was transferring them from the storage container of his memory to that of the book, which, during the Early Modern period, 'was conceptualized more as a storage unit—like a computer disk—than as a surrogate body of the author' (Marcus 2000: 22). It is an act of translation, in the wider sense of the word, and, like all acts of translation, it is an act of remembering. It is therefore no surprise to find that *Ocho comedias* is steeped in nostalgia. In the prologue, for example, before describing the trajectory of his own career as a dramatist, Cervantes fondly recalls, as a boy, seeing the troupe of Lope de Rueda perform. While his reminiscences may be personal, they are also valuable as a historical document of

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[7] Based on consultation of *CORDE* (http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html) 01/02/2011.

[8] Covarrubias gives *arca* as one of the definitions of *cofre* (*Cov*: 333a, l. 42), and *arca* is one of the synonyms of *thesaurus* listed by Carruthers (1990: 34). Interestingly, Covarrubias describes his own dictionary as a thesaurus (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana*).

what Spanish theatre was like in the middle of the sixteenth century. The volume is an archive (another word derived from *arca*) of what he has read, of what he has seen and experienced, as well as of his concept of the theatre. It is a collection of writings for the stage that is also an act of recollection, not least because, as McKendrick (2002: 131) states, it almost certainly involved the reworking of earlier material. It is a theatre of memory, in which the associative quality that is characteristic of the art of memory is expressed through the web of intertextual connections.

The digital edition of *La entretenida* transfers the *Ocho comedias* to another kind of storage unit, a website that seeks to express the web-like nature of the text, and to represent in new ways one of the plays that Cervantes described as *nunca representados.* The various acts of translation that have informed this digital edition are acts of re-membering, in the sense of deconstructing and reconstructing, the text. It is an archive of part of the larger archive of *Ocho comedias*, and takes its place within the archive of Spanish theatre that is the *Out of the Wings* project. In 1985, in an essay entitled *The Dialectics of Bibliography Now*, McKenzie wrote that ‘no text of any complexity yields a definitive meaning. The ostensible unity of any one 'contained' text —be it in the shape of a manuscript, book, map, film, or computer-stored file—is an illusion. As a language, its forms and meaning derive from other texts; and as we listen to, look at, or read it at the very same time we re-write it’ (1999: 60). He went on to state that ‘in many ways, the film and video tape are the most complete summation of a tradition of oral, visual, and written and typographic communication’ (62). Twenty-six years on, the internet has now usurped the position of film and video. It is therefore a logical, almost inevitable, step to represent the work of a writer, and especially a writer of the status of Cervantes, in digital form. Indeed, it is a digital edition, because of its special advantages with regard to displaying the text from a number of different perspectives, that can best respond to the impossibility of achieving the definitive meaning to which Sansón Carrasco alluded.

IV

TRANSLATING AND PERFORMING *LA ENTRETENIDA*

9

An Itinerary Between Past and Present

Central to this research project is the idea of a multi-disciplinary approach to text, inspired by the experience of attending The Royal Shakespeare Company's Golden Age season of 2004 and the program of events that accompanied it. The plays in question, first performed at the Swan Theatre in Stratford, were *The Dog in the Manger*, by Lope de Vega, translated by David Johnston; *Tamar's Revenge*, by Tirso de Molina, translated by James Fenton; *Pedro, the Great Pretender*, by Miguel de Cervantes, translated by Philip Osment; and *House of Desires*, by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, translated by Catherine Boyle. The success of the season, which culminated in performances in Madrid, to great critical acclaim, was founded on the collaboration between theatre professionals and academics that informed every stage of the process, from the choosing of the plays to the establishment of performance texts.[1] Indeed, the depth of the collaboration was such that it threw into question the demarcation of a boundary between 'creatives' and 'advisers' implied by the use of labels such as 'theatre professionals' and 'academics'. Symptomatic of the blurring of that boundary was the fact that two of the translators, David Johnston and Catherine Boyle, were also professional academics. That should come as no surprise, for the act of translation, like other kinds of creative writing, involves research, even if that research is limited to consulting a dictionary, and, whether or not the translation is carried out by one person, as in the case of *House of Desires*, or by two different people, as in David Fenton's version of *Tamar's Revenge*, based on Simon Masterson's literal translation, the research that underpins the final script is just as much part of the creative process.

The translation of *La entretenida* (*The Diversion*) that forms part of the digital edition of the play may at first appear to the end-user as a view of the text that is separate from the Spanish, but it is, in fact, closely linked to the original through the way in which the text has been encoded. Clicking on the character name within the translation will take one to the Spanish, and vice-versa. The ability to navigate from one to the other reflects two key aspects of the translation process: the journeying back and

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of the nature of that process see Boyle and Johnston (2007: 11-14) and Mountjoy (2007: 75-88).

forth between the source text and the English—what Johnston (2008: 69) has denoted as 'an itinerary between past and present'—and the idea of translation as a pathway to other ways of engaging with the text. Patrice Pavis (1989: 26) has described translating for the stage in the following terms: 'The theatre translation is a hermeneutic act – in order to find out what the source text means, I have to bombard it with questions from the target language's point of view: positioned here where I am, in the final situation of reception, and within the bounds of this other language, the target language, what do you mean to me or to us?'. In the case of *La entretenida* that bombarding of the text with questions has led to scholarly research in the fields of bibliography, textual criticism and digital humanities, and to an investigation of its performative meaning through a staged reading. The experience of editing the play showed that the boundaries between these specialized spheres of activity are fluid, and the modes of thinking they require can be mutually beneficial. The process of translating and performing *La entretenida* has likewise demonstrated the value of approaching the text from a number of different perspectives.

One of the first tasks of the translator is to establish the source text, which is by no means a straightforward process where Early Modern plays are concerned. Pavis (1989: 27) states that 'the original text […] is the result of the author's choices and formulations', but bibliography shows that the text of a first printed edition, such as *Ocho comedias*, will certainly have been mediated by several other significant players, such as the amanuensis, censor, corrector or typesetters. The translator may choose a respected modern critical edition as the source, but even in that case he or she will need to be aware that the spelling and—most significantly where meaning is concerned—the punctuation, are not the author's. Nor will there be any means of knowing whether the punctuation markings are those of the first edition or those of the editor of the modern edition. The use of the term 'original' is therefore misleading, since the original is unknowable. Catherine Boyle's assertion that 'there is no original play, nor is there any final one' (2007: 63), made in relation to the desire of critics and audience alike to feel that they can trust a translation, is also appropriate in this context. The digital edition of *La entretenida* does not profess to solve this problem, but it does at least allow the reader to see which punctuation markings are those of the first edition and which are those of the editor, and it also allows the end-user to see an unpunctuated version of the

text, which corresponds more closely to the version that would have been handed over to the amanuensis.

Having established the source text, the translator must begin to unravel the meaning. In the case of *La entretenida* the first stage of that process was a literal translation. Where Early Modern texts are concerned the reference books used are of crucial importance. Modern dictionaries, whether monolingual or bilingual, cannot be relied on to capture the nuances of meaning of words in a sixteenth or seventeenth century context. One example may serve to illustrate the point. Among the characters in the cast list of *La entretenida* one finds 'Muñoz, escudero de Marcela'. The *Collins Spanish Dictionary* gives the simple definition 'squire' for *escudero* (*Collins*: 383). The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* goes considerably further, allowing us, for example, to differentiate the kind of *escudero* that Sancho Panza is ('Paje or sirviente que llevaba el escudo al caballero cuando este no lo usaba') from the role performed by Muñoz ('Criado que servía a una señora, acompañándola cuando salía de casa') (*RAE* I: 965). However, the definition in Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana,* published in 1611, just four years before *Ocho comedias* appeared, adds a significant layer of meaning: 'Oy día más se sirven dellos las señoras; y los que tienen alguna passada huelgan más de estar en sus casas que de servir, por lo poco que medran y lo mucho que les ocupan' (*Cov*: 543a, l. 37). The social commentary contained within that definition may arguably exceed the brief of the compiler of a dictionary, and it is indeed absent from the various entries under the word that are found in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* of 1726 (*Aut* III: 577). It is nonetheless completely accurate with regard to the impoverished Muñoz, who betrays his mistress for financial gain and the promise of a warm flannel coat. Covarrubias's description therefore provides additional insight into this character, which fed into the performance language of the staged reading at King's College. The *Tesoro* is aptly named, for this thesaurus is, indeed, a treasure chest of linguistic riches, an indispensable first port of call for a translator of Golden Age texts. However, although it represents an extraordinary work of scholarship by one man, it is not by any means comprehensive. The *Diccionario de Autoridades*, the product of a whole team of scholars, and a dictionary that in many ways is more user-friendly than its modern counterpart, the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, complements the *Tesoro* perfectly, and these two dictionaries will contain the meanings of the vast majority of words encountered in an Early Modern text.

Two other reference sources are worthy of special mention: Correas's *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, from 1627, and the *Léxico del marginalismo del siglo de oro* (Hernández 1976). The former is particularly useful not only for *explaining* proverbs, which are found in abundance in Cervantes's writings, but also, in cases where they are not spoken in their entirety, for helping to detect and complete them, in ways that may sometimes have performative implications. For example, in the first scene of the play Ocaña finishes a speech by taunting his rival Quiñones with the phrase 'andallo, mi vida, andallo' (*LE*: l. 148). Correas lists the proverb as 'Andallo, mi vida, andallo, ke sois pollo i vais para gallo' (*Corr*: 58). In the translation I used what is implied in the Spanish rather than stated, rendering what Ocaña says as 'You crow like a cock but you're chicken!'. That, in turn, found its way into the stage language, with the actor Huw Thomas strutting across the stage, flapping imaginary wings and making clucking noises.

While the *Vocabulario de refranes* is useful for proverbs, the *Léxico del marginalismo* is valuable for helping to uncover the meaning of slang terms, particularly those of an obscene nature, which are not infrequently found in Cervantes's works, and which are generally not listed in the *Tesoro* and *Autoridades*. Muñoz's 'No me importa a mí una guinda | pronunciar con dinguindujes' (*LE*: ll. 2641-42), was a case in point. The *Léxico* lists three possible meanings under the entry *Dinganduj o Dingandux*: 'Coño'; 'Arte y oficio de la puta; la putería, la «jodería»'; and 'Pija'. The editor adds that it can also mean 'tontería' and 'afectación' (*Lex*: 293). In the translation I tried to allow for the obscene meaning, as well as the more polite one, rendering Muñoz's words as 'I don't give a fig whether I pronounce it like some clever dick'.

Since Golden Age plays are written in a variety of verse schemes, most of them rhyming, one of the first decisions a translator must make concerns the form in which he or she will write. The translators of the RSC Golden Age season adopted different strategies. David Johnston favoured octosyllabic blank verse for *The Dog in the Manger*, using five-syllable lines to increase the pace and sonnets for soliloquies (2004: 17). James Fenton, in *Tamar's Revenge*, used a variety of rhyming and non-rhyming forms and prose 'according to what (he) felt would sit comfortably on the lips of English actors, and to meet the needs and moods of differing scenes'.[2] Catherine Boyle, in *House of Desires* wrote primarily in free verse but, like Johnston, employed verse for

[2] Programme notes to RSC production of *Tamar's Revenge* (2004).

the sonnet at the end of Act I Scene 2 (2004: 33). Philip Osment's approach in *Pedro the Great Pretender* was unique, since he not only wrote his translation in rhyming verse but also tried to mirror the precise forms that Cervantes used. He was therefore walking a tightrope between meaning and form, which he managed with great success. He was, for example, able to follow the change from *copla real* to *octava real* to *redondillas* and then to *tercetos* at lines 121-209, while at the same time keeping remarkably close to the meaning of the Spanish (Cervantes 2004b: 18-21). John Ramm, who played Pedro, explained that one of the advantages of rhyming verse is that it makes it much easier for the actor to learn the part. It also gives the actor something to play with in the delivery of the lines, and the audience something to hang on to in their reception, particularly at moments of high comedy, for example when Pedro reads out the 'verdict' on the case of Clemente and Clemencia, which he draws from a random selection concealed in Crespo's hood:

> I Martin Crespo hereby declare,
> The stallion shall always get his mare.
>
> (Cervantes 2004b: 29)

Notwithstanding these advantages, and my admiration for what Osment had achieved with *Pedro,* I did not feel that I had either the experience or confidence to attempt rhyming verse in the translation of *La entretenida*. I chose free verse in preference to prose, however, feeling it would help to inject pace into the speaking of the words and also be easier on the eye for the actors. I wanted to reflect something of the percussive quality of Spanish in the translation, so, as I moved from the literal translation to the first draft of the stage translation I drummed out the rhythm of the words on my desk top, as well as speaking them aloud. Here is an example of what resulted, from the third scene of Act III, in which the servants Ocaña and Torrente square up to each other, with the translation preceded by Cervantes's text:

TORRENTE	¿Es daga aquese garrote,
	señor Ocaña?
OCAÑA	Es un palo
	que por martas lo señalo
	para ablandar un cogote.

¿Y es puñal aqese vuestro?
TORRENTE Es una penca verduga
que las espaldas arruga
del maldiciente mas diestro. (*LE*: ll. 2101-08)

TORRENTE Is that the handle of dagger,
señor Ocaña?
OCAÑA It is a club I call 'Velvet',
for softening someone's bonce.
And is yours a knife?
TORRENTE It's a tormentor's whip,
which will crease the back
of the most inveterate slanderer. (*DIV*: ll. 1922-29)[3]

I came to realize that my decision to write in free, rather than rhyming, verse gave me certain advantages over Cervantes, who, like all Golden Age Spanish playwrights, was often obliged to expand the text in order to meet the requirements of the poetry. A good example can be found in Don Antonio's sonnet at the beginning of Act III, in which he compares the rigours of winter with those that lovers suffer:

Torna el pasado tiempo al mismo instante
y punto que pasó (*LE*: ll. 1825-26)

This literally means 'time past returns to the same moment and point that it passed'. The second line is not, therefore, essential to the meaning. In my translation this became 'Time past returns to the same moment'. Not having to translate these superfluous words meant that I could focus on meaning, and as a result the translation was over two hundred lines shorter than the original, despite the addition of several stage directions.

Having established the form, one needs to find the right register, which, in the case of Golden Age plays, presents the translator with a dilemma. Attempting to write an archaic form of English will feel as strange as writing in a foreign language, but translating into modern English divorces the play from its original time and setting. I decided on an *interlingua*, a language that crosses historical and cultural boundaries, and one that would facilitate the 'itinerary between past and present' referred to earlier.

[3] The translation can be seen at http://entretenida.outofthewings.org/text/diversion/princeps/title.htmll

This is not a language that will be encountered in any real setting, ancient or modern, any more than the highly stylized verse of Cervantes's play, but it is a language that an audience will accept in the theatre as part of its willing suspension of disbelief, and that will survive different styles of production, for example a period or modern setting. Because it is not a language that is anchored to a particular historical period or culture it can borrow liberally from a variety of sources. The word 'bonce' in the extract above is a good example: a word of obscure origin, with humorous overtones, which I often used to hear growing up in the East End of London during the sixties, but which is rarely heard nowadays. The *interlingua* may also include expressions, borrowed from other languages, which might be described as historical or cultural 'markers'. The exclamation 'Dios mio' is one of these, a reminder that we are in Spain, all the more necessary when characters speak with accents from Wales, Manchester or Hampshire, as in the staged reading of *The Diversion*.[4] 'Perchance', instead of 'by chance' or 'perhaps', is another example of a historical marker that I used at various points during the play to remind the audience that, despite the modern clothes that the characters wore for the performance, they did in fact come from a different era.

The problem of finding the correct register does not have a blanket solution, since the translator needs to discover for each character a register that reflects their social status. This was a particular problem in the case of *La entretenida* because, as was shown in Chapter 2, in this play Cervantes sometimes creates a comic effect by having the characters of lowly birth speak in a manner that is not appropriate to their social station. Torrente and Ocaña, for example, both recite sonnets. In the translation I opted to retain some of these high-flown characteristics in the language of these characters, hoping that the audience would find that the contradiction between their status and register of speech was deliberately, rather than accidentally, absurd:

OCAÑA	Wait, Torrente! Are you mad?	
	Keep your temper,	
	if you want mine to gradually subside.	
	Must two Hectors, two Achilles,	
	perish here to please a lowly wench?	
TORRENTE	Let them die! What do I care?	(*DIV*: ll. 1940-45)

[4] I borrowed this idea from Catherine Boyle, having first heard it in *House of Desires.* Regarding the use of regional accents in *The Diversion*, see pp. 200-01.

Elements in the Spanish for which it was impossible to find direct equivalence, for example puns, or proverbs not found in English, posed a special problem. In the case of puns only two solutions seemed possible: either to cut them or to invent a different pun in English. I chose the second course of action, feeling that Cervantes's predilection for wordplay was a key aspect of his style that I wanted to bring to the translation. In the final scene of Act I, Don Antonio quizzes Torrente about a shipwreck that the latter falsely claims to have suffered:

DON ANTONIO	¿En qué paraje sucedió el naufragio?	
TORRENTE	Estaba yo durmiendo en aquel trance,	
	y no pude del paje ver el rostro.	(*LE*: ll. 873-75)

The literal meaning is as follows:

DON ANTONIO	In what place did the shipwreck occur?
TORRENTE	I was asleep at that critical moment
	and could not see the page's face.

Torrente's comic *non sequitur* arises from his failing to understand the somewhat high-flown term *paraje*, which means 'lugar, sitio ò estáncia' (*Aut* V: 119b), and assuming that Don Antonio must have said *paje*. I translated the passage thus:

DON ANTONIO	In what latitude did the shipwreck occur?	
TORRENTE	I was asleep at the crucial moment	
	and did not hear the laddie's tune.	(*DIV*: ll. 771-73)

I also wanted to retain the proverbs, partly because they are an important feature of Cervantes's writing, as the hundreds of proverbs scattered throughout *Don Quijote* testify, and partly because they inject so much colour into the dialogue. Sometimes my solution was to add a 'proverb-marker', such as 'as the saying goes' or 'as they say', which I hoped would either tell the English audience that this was a Spanish proverb, or make them think that this was an obscure saying in their own language with which they were not familiar:

OCAÑA que ha de ver el mundo entero
el que lleva el gato al agua.[5] (*LE*: 1789-90)

OCAÑA The world'll see who can carry the cat to water,
as the saying goes (*DIV*: ll. 1639-40)

In other cases I used imagery from the proverb to come up with a phrase that seemed plausible or was somehow familiar. Thus, Don Antonio's 'Mi gozo está en el pozo' (*LE*: l. 2852) became 'I am drowning in the well of my misfortune' (*DIV*: l. 2622).

Often Cervantes packs more than one layer of meaning into a single word, and it is necessary to go further, in terms both of scholarly research and of how much information is provided in the translation, in order to uncover and convey these additional nuances. A good example is provided by the line '¡Que tengo de ir a Turpia!' (*LE*: l. 2452), uttered in the play within the play in Act III by Torrente, who, having apparently stabbed Ocaña, wonders what punishment he might suffer as a result. A search of *CORDE* revealed that Turpia was a town in southern Italy (now known as Tropea), mentioned in very few sources, which was a port of call for the galley ships.[6] It seemed that Torrente was expressing a fear that he would be consigned to the galleys—a common punishment for miscreants at that time. Why would Cervantes make reference to such an obscure place? Further research uncovered the following passage in a Franciscan text, one with which Cervantes may well have been familiar, since, at the time of publication of *Ocho comedias*, he was a lay member of a Franciscan order: 'O Deus quid facient tunc viri et mulieres qui modo timent turpia sua videri?' ('O God, what shall they do then, the men and women who fear now that their ugliness [turpia] be seen?) (Reginaldetti 1495: bk. I, pt. 2, ch. 7, p. 52). Torrente's reference to Turpia is therefore probably a play on words that involves a joke about how ugly he will look without his nose. The literal translation of 'I'll have to go to Turpia' does not contain any of the deeper layers of meaning, so I decided to translate this line as follows:

TORRENTE Will they send me to Turpia on the galleys?
I'll be the ugliest oarsman on the ship! (*DIV*: ll. 2245-46)

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[5] '**Avemos de ver kién lleva los gatos al agua**. Haziendo fieros ke podremos' (*Corr*: 755a).

[6] An extract from a letter dated 21st July 1501 reads 'Yo me fue en las galeas á Turpia para tomar dalli la gente que se pagaba y salir á juntarme con los otros á Monteleon, y así se ha fecho; y desta salida se han levado las tierras que vereys por este memorial' (Hernández de Córdoba y Aguilar 1908: XX).

This translation retains the original word, but has enough extra information to compensate for the audience's ignorance of the various levels of meaning it contains. It also retains the surreal humour of Torrente being more worried about his looks than about the possibly life-threatening punishment of being condemned to the galleys. The translation thus glosses the meaning by including in the script information that might normally be added as a footnote in a scholarly edition of the play. I used a similar technique in the case of obscure mythological or religious references, such as the allusion to 'Santelmo' in the following passage from Act I, where Torrente is hailing the arrival of Muñoz as Cardenio's potential saviour:

TORRENTE Pero ves dónde parece
tu Santelmo.
CARDENIO Así es verdad,
puesto que mi tempestad
nunca mengua y siempre crece. (*LE*: ll. 291-94)

Only a small minority of a modern audience would be likely know that Saint Elmo is the patron saint of sailors. Torrente is likening his master to a distressed mariner in a storm, and Cardenio takes up that imagery in his rejoinder. The translation enables the audience to understand the reference, and also adds an appropriately racy *double entendre*:

TORRENTE But look—Saint Elmo,
the patron saint of seamen has arrived![7] (*DIV*: ll. 261-62)

As has been shown by the examples of Turpia and Santelmo, the translation of a name is sometimes a far from simple matter. This is further illustrated by the following passage from the final scene of Act II, in which Torrente, the fake Peruvian, compares himself with his rival Ocaña:

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[7] David Johnston was confronted with the same problem in the first scene of *El perro del hortelano*, in which Diana greets Otavio with the line '¡Muy lindo Santelmo hacéis!' (Vega 1981b: 78, l. 29), which he translated as 'In the middle of the storm, the calm!' (Vega 2004: 24).

TORRENTE ¿Que por las faltas de España,
que siempre suelen sobrar,
no quieres ir a gozar
del gran país de Cucaña? (*LE*: ll. 1687-90)

A direct translation of Cucaña is Cockaigne, but that word, apart from the disadvantage of being a homophone of cocaine, is just as obscure as the original Spanish one. As explained in Chapter 4, the word Cucaña would have had a New World resonance for Cervantes's audience, connecting it with Lascasian critiques of Spanish imperial policy. By personifying the down-to-earth, wine-tippling Ocaña as Spain and Torrente, with his pie-in-the-sky promises, as the New World, Cervantes is giving himself the opportunity of thinly veiled political criticism of both places, at the same time as presenting Cristina's choice as hardly an enviable one. What is required as a translation for Cucaña, therefore, is a word associated both with fantastic wealth and the Spanish conquest of South America, but which is familiar to a modern audience. The solution adopted was as follows:

TORRENTE Is it possible […]
that you prefer the abundant faults of Spain
to the riches of my El Dorado? (*DIV*: ll. 1536-45)

In dealing with the obscure and exotic it is particularly important that the translator is able to differentiate the superficial, linguistic meaning of a word and its deeper, dramatic meaning. The following passage from Act I, in which Muñoz gives Cardenio and Torrente a 'props list' to make the fraud they are planning seem more convincing, provides a good example:

MUÑOZ Y este venirte a escondidas
podrá, señor, escusarte
de no venir con riquezas
que el ser quien eres señalen;
mas no dejes de traer
algunas piedras bezares,
y algunas sartas de perlas,
y papagayos que hablen. (*LE*: ll. 415-22)

The passage was translated as follows:

MUÑOZ Arriving incognito will excuse you, sir,
from not coming with riches
that might indicate who you are…
oh but do not fail to bring some bezoars,
and strings of pearls and talking parrots.
(*DIV*: ll. 361-65)

Here the meaning of bezoar (a rare stone found in South American mountain goats) would almost certainly be unknown, not just to a modern audience, but also to many of Cervantes's contemporaries.[8] A translator who seeks to clarify everything in the text for the target culture may be tempted to substitute another word. Indeed, this was the approach taken in the Spanish version produced by Yolanda Pallîn for the Compañia Nacional de Teatro Clásico, in which the line 'esmeraldas y corales' was substituted for 'algunas piedras bezares' (Cervantes 2005a: 31, l. 370). Pallín summarized her approach as follows: 'Cuando un término no se entiende en absoluto por el espectador medio actual se impone un cambio' (Cervantes 2005a: 13). In this instance, however, she missed the important dramatic point that the items in Muñoz's list are not only beyond the means of procurement of a poor student and his servant, but also, in the case of the 'piedras bezares', beyond their realm of comprehension. On stage there is considerable comic potential in Cardenio and Torrente being totally flummoxed by Muñoz's inventory and, indeed, it is the impossibility of their complying with it that leads them to unilaterally 'rewrite' Muñoz's 'script', and to pretend, instead, that they have been shipwrecked and lost everything. I therefore wanted the audience to be as befuddled as Cardenio and Torrente by the word 'bezoar'.

The case of the 'piedras bezares' serves to illustrate one of the pitfalls of translation. Focusing on the linguistic meaning, as Pallín's adaptation did, can lead the translator to miss the performative significance, which may be much more important. As the translator of a play journeys back and forth between past and present he or she must therefore continually strive to be aware that the work involves the language of performance as well as the performance of language, and that the performative and

[8] '**Bezar**. Piedra que se cría en las entrañas y en las agallas de cierta cabra montesa en las Indias, la qual vale contra todo veneno y enfermedad de tavardillo, y qualquier otra maligna y ponçoñosa' (*Cov*: 214a, l. 64).

linguistic aspects of the text are inextricably related. In the case of *La entretenida* the importance of that dual awareness was brought more sharply into focus by the process of bringing the translation to the stage, which began with preparatory workshops on the translation and culminated in three staged readings of *The Diversion*, the first known performances of *La entretenida* in English.

10

Devising a Language of Performance

Discussing the infrequency of performance of Golden Age theatre in translation, the theatre director Jonathan Munby had the following exchange with his interviewer, Hispanist David McGrath:

> MUNBY Very few regional theatres could afford to commission a new translation of something. So regional theatres are held to existing versions. How, therefore, can we move this form on, if we haven't got the funding to ask writers to write?
>
> McGRATH You're not really saying that the only way some of these productions could get staged is in university productions or by non-professional actors, are you?
>
> MUNBY That's exactly what I'm saying. (McGrath 2007: 140)

The staged reading of *The Diversion,* which took place at the Old Anatomy Museum, King's College London, in May 2007, was essentially just the kind of university production to which Munby and McGrath refer, produced on a shoestring budget with the support of The Department of Spanish and Spanish American Studies and the Spanish Embassy. The circumstances of the production, and in particular the financial constraints to which it was subject, required me to perform various additional roles apart from that of translator in the process of bringing the play to the stage, including actor, musician, director and producer. I therefore functioned like a modern equivalent of the *autor* of Golden Age theatre, who is described by McKendrick as 'impresario, producer, director and actor rolled into one, exerting direct financial, administrative and artistic control over the company's activities' (1989: 189-90). That function required engagement with the text from a number of different perspectives. It also led to the reflection that, irrespective of whether the translator actually performs any of those additional roles, he or she will inevitably be drawn into adopting some of the modes of thinking associated with them. The theatre translator will, for example, as the previous chapter showed, need to consider the performative significance of the words, and therefore be required to think like an actor or director. Developing that idea, this chapter

will attempt to demonstrate that theatre translation is, *per se*, a multi-dimensional activity, one that involves travelling across boundaries, not only of language, time, space and culture, but also those that are perceived to separate fields of specialism.

One thing that emerged from the various talks and workshops that accompanied the RSC's Golden Age season was that numerous changes to a translation may be made during the rehearsal period as a result of the actors or director not feeling comfortable with the script. Knowing that rehearsal time for *The Diversion* would be limited, I first wanted to test the script with a reading group that I had established, consisting of four actors from my local community of Hornsey, North London, all of whom had professional experience and were later to play parts in the staged reading. The entire process, which consisted of nine meetings of two to four hours in length, spread over a period of three months from November 2006 to February 2007, was documented through digital recording. We began by reading through the entire script with little or no interruption, with myself functioning as an extra actor during certain scenes. Once this process was completed we then met to discuss passages that were of concern to me as a translator or to the actors. A number of changes to the script were made as a result of these readings.

What becomes clear from listening to the audio recordings is that I, as translator, though striving to be aware of the performative dimension of the words, tended to be primarily interested in finding the right turn of phrase, whilst the actors were more concerned with the staged meaning and investigation of character. Sometimes this meant that we would talk at cross purposes, as for example when we discussed the translation of the line 'de Tarpeya mira Nero' (*LE*: l. 2403), uttered by Torrente as he appears to stab Ocaña in retaliation for having had his nose cut off. The line is part of a well know *romance*:

> Mira Nero de Tarpeya
> a Roma cómo se ardía.[1]

The sense is that, while Ocaña gloats over the injury he has inflicted on Torrente, the latter takes the opportunity to catch him off his guard. I wanted to know how best to convey this in English. Should I retain the image of Nero, fiddling while Rome burns,

[1] The complete version of the *romance* can be found in the *Romancero* (ed. Díaz-Mas 1994: 394-98).

or should I substitute something that might be as familiar to an English audience as the *romance* would have been to Cervantes's contemporaries ('How now, a rat!', for example)? The actors, knowing that I wanted to play the scene 'for real', were more concerned with the lack of verisimilitude of Torrente quoting famous sayings after he has had his nose cut off. Eventually we agreed on a phrase that kept the reference to Nero: 'That'll teach you to fiddle while Rome burns'.

The difference in focus of an actor's approach to a text, compared with that of a translator or scholarly editor, can be attributed to their training. One of the actors, Hollie Garrett, listed the seven questions that she been taught to ask when preparing to play a character:

1) Who am I?
2) Where am I?
3) When is it?
4) What do I want?
5) How am I going to get it?
6) What is the obstacle that stands in my way?
7) What will I do to overcome the obstacle?

The questions may be divided into two groups. The first three are concerned with locating the character in time and space, while the others relate to the character's intentionality. The interaction with the actors that took place during the readings of the translation and rehearsals for the staged reading underlined the importance of translators and scholarly editors of play texts asking similar questions about the characters. By answering them they will also be able to help the actors to answer theirs.

The process of reading through a translation with a group of actors highlights areas of cultural difference, clarification of which is part of the invaluable preparatory work that needs to be carried out before rehearsals begin. For example, the actors required explanation of phrases such as 'Give me your arms and my reward!', my translation of 'Dame los brazos y albricias' (*LE*: l. 1859), spoken by Don Francisco to Don Antonio when he announces to his friend that Marcela Osorio's father is prepared to give him his daughter's hand in marriage. The idea of 'albricias', the often lavish rewards bestowed on the bearer of glad tidings, is quite foreign to an English audience. I

also needed to clarify cultural and historical differences in forms of greeting, implicit both in this phrase and in Cardenio's first words to Marcela de Almendárez:

CARDENIO No me niegues estos pies
pues no merezco esas manos. (*LE*: ll. 1080-81)

Do not deny me these feet
since I do not deserve those hands. (*DIV*: ll. 971-72)

Here it was necessary to make clear that kissing a woman's hands would have implied a much deeper level of intimacy than Cardenio, who is pretending to be a fiancé meeting his bride-to-be for the first time, would have enjoyed. In this instance the form of greeting also has a comic significance, since Cardenio is disguised as a pilgrim, and therefore probably rather dirty and smelly, hence Don Antonio's embarrassed comment:

DON ANTONIO No tan cortés,
señor primo, que mi hermana
está del caso suspensa. (*LE*: ll. 1083-85)

Do not overdo the courtesy, dear cousin—
my sister is ignorant of the matter. (*DIV*: ll. 973-74)

The comment implies a stage direction—that Marcela is probably recoiling with horror at this strange, foul-smelling pilgrim grovelling at her feet. The translator's task in such cases is thus to communicate not just the superficial, linguistic meaning, but also the deeper layers of cultural and performative significance.

A further example of the cultural difference that just a few words can carry, and the implications that this might have for performance is Clavijo's reaction on seeing Marcela de Almendárez on her way to church:

CLAVIJO Toda la puedes mirar,
si es que descubierta pasa. (*LE*: ll. 2556-57)

She is walking unveiled—
you can see everything! (*DIV*: ll. 2250-51)

In this case I needed to explain to the actors that Spanish noblewomen at this time were effectively kept imprisoned in the home, and that, on the few occasions they were allowed out, to attend church, they would normally have been fully veiled, with no portion of their skin showing. Clavijo's words to his master Don Silvestre imply that the actors should react with a mixture of incredulity and lechery.

The interconnectedness of linguistic and performative meaning raises the question of the extent to which the translator must become involved in dramaturgy. Espasa, citing Pavis and Mateo, identifies two opposing views: 'On the one hand, if the act of translating is considered as prior to and autonomous from the *mise en scéne*, the translator will seek not to offer a specific interpretation of the text, thus attempting to convey the ambiguities and different readings in the translated playtext. […] On the other hand, translating can be seen as intrinsically related to *mise en scéne*, and therefore as an operation already containing an interpretation' (Espasa 2000: 52). Pavis's view on the matter is unequivocal. He identifies the translator as 'a dramaturg who must first of all effect a macrotextual translation, that is, a dramaturgical analysis of the fiction conveyed by the text', and regards that analysis as an intermediate stage between the initial translation and the testing of the text on stage before an audience (1989: 27-29).

The circumstances in which Early Modern plays were produced require special consideration in the context of this debate. Of particular significance is the absence of a director in theatre companies of the period, which can be attributed partly to the rapid turnover of plays, which would not have allowed time for a director to have significant input into the staging of the production, and partly to economic constraints, which would have made it difficult to justify the presence of anyone in the company who was solely dedicated to this role. In Spain the *autor*, or actor-manager, may have influenced the artistic direction of the play, while in England staging was more of a cooperative venture, even if the playwright was present at rehearsals, as was the case with notable actor-playwrights like Shakespeare, Heywood and Beaumont. The actors therefore had far greater responsibility, in addition to specialist skills that the playwright or *autor* would have respected. In the tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* troupes, actors would have specialized in particular roles, such as a young gallant, a woman who is the object of his affections, an older man or a clown. When Shakespeare writes the part of the Fool in *King Lear*, for example, he is undoubtedly thinking of Robert Armin, who wrote

books on the subject of fooling and was himself a playwright.[2] It is unimaginable that anyone might have told him how to play the part. Early Modern playwrights therefore often write with particular actors in mind, and with the knowledge that the actors will not expect to be directed. Here there is a parallel with Baroque music, since composers like Bach give little information about how a piece is to be performed. The greater responsibility placed on the actor in Renaissance theatre is also reflected by the lack of explicit stage directions. Instead, the playwright often implies what is required of the actor through the verse. As John Barton remarks, 'it's there to help the actor. It's full of little hints […] about how to act a given speech or scene. It's stage-direction in shorthand' (1984: 25).

Modern actors, who, unlike their Early Modern counterparts, are used to being directed, look for and expect more assistance and instruction. Translators therefore need to think from an actor's perspective, and include additional information in the form of explicit stage directions. If, as in scholarly editions of plays, it is clearly indicated, for example in square brackets, where this extra information has been included, then the translator's interpretation of the *mise en scéne* need not preclude other interpretations, and the debate about the extent to which the translator should engage with the text from a dramaturgical point of view becomes less polarized. The 'ambiguities and different readings' to which Espasa refers can sit side by side with a 'specific interpretation' (2000: 52).

Stage directions, like the seven questions for the actor, can usually be divided into two categories, relating to *location* and *intention*. Examples of the first category are exits and entrances, descriptions of clothing, or an indication that a scene is to played in the street, while those in the second category include asides, and stage directions that indicate to whom a speech is addressed. Cervantes's stage directions are sometimes extremely detailed, and may contain information about *both* location and intention, as the following description of one of Ocaña's entrances shows:

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[2] Armin was a sharer in The Chamberlain's Men from 1599-1601. He took over the clown's role from William Kemp and was the first to play the parts of Touchstone in *As You Like It*, Feste in *Twelfth Night*, Lavatch in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida* and Fool in *King Lear* (Crystal and Crystal 2005: 76 & 162). Armin wrote two books on fooling, under the pseudonym Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe: *Foole upon Foole* and *Quips upon Questions*, which can be found in *The Collected Works of Robert Armin* (Armin 1972).

> *Entra OCAÑA en calzas y en camisa, con un mandil delante, y con un harnero y una almohaza; entra puesto el dedo en la boca, con pasos tímidos, y escóndese detrás de un tapiz, de modo que se le parezcan los pies no más.* (*LE:* l. 1678)

Cervantes does not, however, generally include stage directions that relate solely to the character's intention, such as asides, so many stage directions of this type were added to my translation in response to the actors' need for clarification of the text. This was particularly crucial in the complex final scene of Act I, in which Torrente and Cardenio perform a 'double-con'. Unable to produce any of the items in Muñoz's 'props list', they decide to pretend they have been shipwrecked, and that they are undertaking a pilgrimage to give thanks for having been spared, which explains their shabby dress. Torrente goes ahead of his master to explain all this to Don Antonio, and, in order to make their deception more convincing, makes out that Cardenio, too embarrassed by his impoverished state to request Don Antonio's hospitality, will *deny* that he is Don Silvestre. Their scam is, in fact, a classic example of 'el engañar con la verdad', part of Lope's recipe for successful theatre, which he mentions in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*.[3] Cervantes does not write a preparatory scene in which the elaborate scam is explained to the audience, so it has to be made clear in real time, at the moment of its perpetration, by the way in which the actors deliver their lines. In the twelve lines that follow the entrance of Cardenio, the first edition contains no stage directions whatsoever, while the Schevill/Bonilla and Sevilla/Rey editions add just one (Torrente's aside to Don Antonio after line 826). In order to convey the dramatic meaning to the actors I needed to add three more:

DON ANTONIO	My good sir, don Silvestre de Almendárez, why conceal your presence from one who is so obliged to serve you?
CARDENIO	*[to Torrente]* Oh traitor, misbegotten! *[to Don Antonio]* I swear this trickster is deceiving you señor. I am not don Silvestre as you say, but a poor pilgrim, and *[to Torrente]* very poor at that.
TORRENTE	Why are you looking at me? I have not told him anything

[3] 'El engañar con la verdad es cosa | que ha parecido bien, como lo usaba | en todas sus comedias Miguel Sánchez, | digno por la invención de esta memoria' (*AN*: ll. 319-22).

and I'd be lying if I said I had.
[aside to Don Antonio]
I swear it is the very same man
I told you about. (*DIV*: ll. 816-28)

The additional stage directions are one example of what may result from the interaction between the translator and actors in the process of reading through the translation. Often that interaction led to changes in the script, as the following transcription from one of the recordings illustrates, which relates to the translation of the phrase 'Mi norte descubro y veo', used by Don Ambrosio (*LE*: l. 1289). Here the speakers are the actors Anna Skye, Hollie Garrett, Lesley Kennedy and myself:

JO	I've just spotted one other thing here—'I spy my compass north'. It's quite a nice expression but it's kind of…I'm not sure you can say that really. He says it a couple of times…
AS	North star? Pole star?
JO	That's quite a nice one, 'cause it is the idea of…(*flash of inspiration*) 'my guiding light!'
ALL	(*Sounds of universal approbation e.g.* 'mmm…', 'very good')
JO	It was a team effort.

In spite of the enthusiastic response to 'my guiding light', I have since wondered whether Anna Skye's 'North Star' might not have been an even better solution. Such nagging doubts are themselves an indication of the open-endedness of the translation process. Interestingly, the *OED* gives 'guiding light' as a definition of 'Pole star', Anna's other suggestion.[4]

On other occasions the role of the actor may be to *stop* the translator from changing what is already in the script. One example was when I had thought to change the phrase 'Oh miracle of love', my translation of 'Oh milagros de amor', spoken by Don Antonio (*LE*: l. 549), to 'Oh miraculous love'. Anna Skye, who has worked extensively in a music-theatre project involving the work of Monteverdi, argued for keeping what I had originally written because it reminded her of the words 'O miracol d'amore', which she had encountered in the madrigals of the Italian composer. The

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[4] '**North Star, *n*. a.** The Pole Star, Polaris. **b**. *fig.* and in figurative contexts. A person who or thing which serves as a guide or goal.' *OED*: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/128380> [accessed 08/09/11]. '**Pole Star, n.** […] **2**. *fig.* A person who or thing which serves as a guide; a governing principle, a guiding light.' *OED*: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/146811> [accessed 08/09/11].

phrase appears in Monteverdi's setting of a poem by Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Mentre vaga Angioletta,* with which Cervantes may well have been familiar.[5] It seemed particularly appropriate to make this connection with an Italian composer who was his contemporary, since Cervantes's love of both music and Italian Renaissance culture is well known. The audience may not, of course, be aware of the connection, but that does not invalidate its being made. In this respect translation is like trying to make a beautiful garment. Each stitch is important, and should be made with care and attention.

As the last example demonstrates, the result of discussion of the script with the actors was sometimes to bring us back to where we started. In such cases the circularity of the collective process mirrors that of the individual one the translator often has to undergo before arriving again at the original solution. The readings were a crucial part of the translation process, giving both the actors and myself the opportunity to view the translation from a different perspective, and resulting in a sense of shared ownership of what emerged, which was a script that was ready for rehearsal.

The work that remained to be done was the devising of a language of performance. Key to the understanding of that process was Walter Benjamin's concept of 'afterlife', which he introduces in his seminal essay on translation, 'Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers' ('The Task of the Translator'). Benjamin writes that 'a translation issues from the original—not so much from its life as from its afterlife. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life' (2000: 16). In the light of Benjamin's comment Cervantes's decision to have his plays printed can be viewed as his way of ensuring their potential for an afterlife—a message in a bottle sent across time. The translator, standing here on this shore, in the twenty-first century, is aware that the contents of the bottle have been changed forever by the time that has passed in between. Indeed, this very sense of temporal dislocation is the key to releasing the energy that lies within. In this respect the notion of afterlife harmonizes well with Johnston's concept of translation as investing 'in the creation of a new object that, at its most irreverent, is neither of here or there, of

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[5] 'Quando con modi tremoli e vaganti | Quando fermi e sonanti, | Cosi cantando e recantando il core, | O miracol d'amore, | E fatto un usignolo, E spiega già per non star mesto il volo.' 'Sometimes in tremulous and wandering fashion, | sometimes firm and resounding, | thus, singing and singing again, | oh miracle of love, | the heart becomes like a nightingale | and takes flight so as not to remain sad' (my translation). No. 4 from Claudio Monteverdi, *Ottavo libro de' madrigali*: *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*. (Venice, 1638). Cervantes mentions Figueroa's translation of Guarini's *Il pastor fido* in the second part of Don Quijote (*DQ* II. 52: 1249).

now or then. It is an object, like the theatre event itself, that encourages journey, excites cultural and linguistic exogamy, and through its hybridity lifts our gaze outwards from our cultural matrix, whatever its configuration' (2008: 69).

Taking Benjamin's idea further, it may be argued that what he describes as 'the original' is part of another afterlife, namely that of the various sources that have influenced the work's composition. Benjamin mentions those sources in passing when he states that 'the history of the great works of art tells us as about their antecedents, their realisation in the age of the artist, their potentially eternal afterlife in succeeding generations' (2000: 17), but without exploring their significance for the translator. However, in the case of the staged reading of *The Diversion*, the afterlife of these 'antecedents' was crucial in helping to shape a language of performance for a play that, like the others contained within *Ocho comedias*, was not realized in Cervantes's lifetime, and has had a meagre performance history since.

The literary forbears of *La entretenida*, as we have seen, include Plautus, Boccaccio, *Celestina*, the *commedia dell'arte*, the burlesque sonnet and the *comedia nueva*. The first, and oldest, of these is the most relevant, not simply because *La entretenida* is, in one sense, a retelling of Plautus's *Menaechmi* and *Amphitryo*, but because it is Titus Macchius Plautus (literally 'Titus the flat-footed clown') who is the chief inspiration of many of the other antecedents and, paradoxically, because it is the Roman playwright whose language is the most modern and most familiar to us, having experienced its own, still flourishing, afterlife. The spirit of Plautus has survived in many different forms: Charlie Chaplin, another 'flat-footed clown'; Giraudoux's *Amphitryon 38*, the title of which attempts to enumerate the different afterlives of this play, but in fact falls well short; Broadway musicals such as Stephen Sondheim's *A Funny Thing Happened On The Way To The Forum* and Rodgers and Hart's *The Boys From Syracuse*; British sit-com, for example the character of 'Del Boy' from *Only Fools And Horses*, another wily slave; and stand-up comedy, since the person at the microphone who bends your ear, inviting you into his or her world, is an obvious descendant of the Plautine characters who constantly make asides to the audience.[6]

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[6] The similarity between the character of the servant Torrente (played by a cross-dressed Leslie Kennedy) in my production of *La entretenida* and 'Del Boy' was noted both by Hollie Garrett, one of the actors, and by Guy Slater, a professional theatre director who came to see the play. As a translator I made no conscious effort to make Torrente speak like 'Del Boy'.

Johnston describes how a play's 'simultaneous pastness and presentness […]energize the re-creative processes of translation and staging, offering translator and director alike the opportunity to contrive a series of encounters and engagements, translations in their own way, that enable the play to be experienced as both historical artefact and culturally alive' (2008: 69). In the case of *La entretenida* the Plautine thread that runs from antiquity to the twenty-first century was the key to understanding that dual location in the past and present. I therefore wanted to bring something of the improvisational spirit of the Roman playwright to the staged reading of *The Diversion*. With that purpose in mind, the stand-up comedian Huw Thomas was invited to play the part of Ocaña. Certain moments in the play provided ideal opportunities for him to exercise his improvisational skills. One example is the *cabo roto* sonnet that finishes Act II of *La entretenida*. Here is an extract, with the missing syllables in the Spanish shown in brackets:

OCAÑA — Que de un lacá(yo) la fuerza poderó(sa),
hecha a machamartí(llo) con el trabá(jo),
de una fregó(na) le rinda el estropá(jo),
es de los cie(los) no vista maldició(n).
Amor el ar(co) en sus pugares to(mó),
sacó una fle(cha) de su pulí(do) carcá(j),
encaró al co(razón) y diome una flechá(zo)
que el alma to(mó) y el corazón me do(lió).

(*LE*: ll. 1803-10)

This is a word game that gives pleasure primarily to readers, who have to supply the right ending, rather like solving a crossword puzzle. A literal translation is clearly impossible. A poetic solution that retained the sense of the original would challenge even the greatest of poets, and, even were it achievable, would not be performable without totally flummoxing the audience. The solution adopted in the staged reading was for Huw Thomas to perform a charade, with the audience having to supply the missing words, as the following transcription from a recording of one of the performances shows:

OCAÑA — That a footman's force,
roughly shaped by toil,

should be conquered by a kitchen-maid's…
(*mimes mopping the floor*),

AUDIENCE Mop!

OCAÑA …is an unforeseen curse from heaven.
Love took up his bow, plucked an arrow from his gleaming
(*mimes a trembling motion*)

AUDIENCE Quiver!

OCAÑA Very good, madam—quick!
This was a great poem until I started
messing about with it…

As was shown in Chapter 1, the quasi-improvisational aspect of *La entretenida* can in part be attributed to the influence of the *commedia dell'arte*, which the staged reading attempted to reference in a variety of ways. One of these was the introduction of pantomime elements, such as the cross-dressing of the actress Leslie Garrett in the role of Ocaña. The *alguacil* and his constable were also played by female actors, two young French students, who introduced a further note of the zany and surreal, and at the same time, through their accents, made a passing reference to Inspector Clouseau. Huw Thomas, who has considerable knowledge of the *commedia dell'arte*, had already, quite independently, spotted the influence of Italian improvised comedy in the play, for example in the final scene of Act II, in which Ocaña eavesdrops from behind a tapestry, with his feet protruding (*LE*: ll. 1679-1744). He therefore needed no encouragement to further allude to it through the use of props, wearing a very phallic club—what he termed his '*commedia* club'—tucked into his belt at a suggestive angle (see *Fig. 1*, p. 35), to represent the weapon that Ocaña refers to as 'martas'.

The translation of a Golden Age play involves a journey not only across time, but across space and culture too. As Johnston writes, 'when we translate from the elsewhere or the elsewhen, the shifting gaze of the translator allows the product of that process to be simultaneously of then and there, encased in cultural difference, but also belonging to the shifting here and now of the spectator' (2007: 59). In the case of *The Diversion*, one way of making the journey through space, and allowing the play to be both 'here and there', was through the introduction of regional accents. When writing the first draft of the translation I had differentiated the nobles from the servants by imagining a cultured accent for the former and a cockney accent for the latter. Once I had cast Huw Thomas as Ocaña, I had the idea of asking him to play the character with the Welsh

accent that had been part of his upbringing. *La entretenida* is set in Madrid at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a bustling metropolis where all the different regional accents and languages would have been heard. Maravall (1975: 247) refers to 'el aire abigarrado, cosmopolita, acomodaticio de Madrid, que se agrava en ese tiempo' while Elliot portrays it as 'a great magnet, drawing to it from all over the country the rootless, the dishonest and the ambitious' (1963: 310). María de Zayas, in *Amar sólo por vencer*, describes it as 'Babilonia de España' (1983: 295). Huw Thomas's involvement in the play was the catalyst for me to try to convey the idea of the city as that Babel of different voices. Thus, in addition to the French policemen already mentioned, the production acquired a Mancunian squire in Muñoz, played by David McGrath, and a *fregona* from Hampshire, in Cristina, played by Hollie Garrett. In both cases the actors were using regional accents familiar to them. I was pleasantly surprised to find that the dialogue I had written for each of these characters not only survived but flourished as a result of the regional transposition, which produced an effect quite different from that which I had originally intended.

Another example of using the familiar as what Johnston (2008: 72) describes as 'an optic for journeying into the unfamiliar' was provided by the translation and staging of the song and dance that is performed within the interlude. Here, however, there were additional problems to overcome before tackling the question of how best to translate the song. The difficulties arose as a result of the way in which song text and dialogue are interwoven, as the following extract reveals (song text in smaller font):

MÚSICOS Madre, la mi madre,
guardas me ponéis;
que si yo no me guardo,
mal me guarderéis.

TORRENTE Esto sí, ¡cuerpo del mundo!,
Que tiene de lo moderno,
De lo dulce, de lo lindo,
de lo agradable y lo tierno

MÚSICOS Dicen que está escrito,
y con gran razón,
que es la privación
causa de apetito.

Crece en infinito
Encerrado amor;
Por eso es mejor
Que no me encerreis:
que si yo no me guardo… (*LE*: ll. 2319-35)

What appears on the page looks relatively straightforward, but in live performance it is impossible to realize. What happens to the music while Torrente says his lines? It has to continue, because people are dancing, but fitting a short instrumental passage in here so that the song can resume exactly on cue would be a difficult enough challenge for a film composer with the latest modern technology at his or her disposal, let alone for a musical director in the theatre, where synchronisation of live music and dialogue is notoriously difficult. Cervantes's text indicates that a dance is to be performed to a musical accompaniment while actors from both the interlude and the main play make comments and eventually argue with dancers and musicians, but it does not give any clues as to how this might be realized in practice. There was also a question of balance to address: both music and dialogue needed to be clearly audible, which had implications for the number and type of instruments used.

Listening to a recording of *Madre, la mi madre* revealed how perfectly the Spanish words fit with the subtle and highly idiosyncratic rhythms of the Spanish music that accompanies them, and also that the music that accompanies the verses is quite different from that of the refrain, or chorus.[7] The questions posed by the problem of adapting this music for the translation were in some ways typical. Should one attempt to translate the song at all? If so, should one attempt to translate the original song lyrics into English or start afresh, with new lyrics and a new song? In the case of *Madre, la mi madre* the issue was complicated by the fact that the words of the song were clearly significant, since, as was mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, they refer not only to the situation of the absent Marcela Osorio in the play but also, intertextually, to the same song that is performed in *El celoso estremeño*. The answers to the questions posed above often involve sacrificing the music to the meaning or the meaning to the music. For *The Diversion* I chose the latter, although the solution was in no small part influenced by circumstances, since I was the only musician within the company, and I only knew a handful of songs on the guitar, all of them Brazilian. So the characters

[7] Hespèrion XX, dir. Jordi Savall, *España Antigua* (8 CD set: Virgin Classics, 1976-86) CD 7, track 15.

danced to Jobim's *So danço samba* and *Girl From Ipanema,* songs that worked in the context of the modern staging, were in a *bossa nova* style not unfamiliar to an English audience, and, while they did not convey the literal meaning of the *romance* and *seguidilla,* did at least have something of the sensuality of the Spanish songs.

Translating the songs and dances to the stage involved considering multiple layers of linguistic and performative meaning, involving time, sound and space. In that sense it was characteristic of the entire process of translation, from the solitary work with the text to the devising of a performance language with the actors. The importance of a multi-dimensional approach was apparent at all times. Different kinds of scholarship informed the performance language, but the performance language also informed the scholarship. There is, for example, a moment, captured on video, when, playing the part of Don Silvestre, I discover that my exit, and that of the character playing Clavijo, is missing. The two characters enter at line 2528, and enter again at line 2884, but there is no indication for them to leave the stage in between. None of the editors of the play had spotted Cervantes's error, so by establishing a suitable moment for the exit (somewhere between lines 2728 and 2731) the rehearsal process rectified the collective oversight and fed back into the editing of the play. This example illustrates the circularity of the translation process where theatre is concerned: from text to translation to performance and back to a text that has been renewed and can form the basis for future translations.

CONCLUSION

Spadaccini and Talens have argued that, where Cervantes's writings are concerned, a critical approach based on 'a transversal analysis that cuts synchronically across generic lines' may be more productive than 'an analysis carried out on a single text or on texts belonging only to the same genre' (1993: xi). In this research the approach has been to focus on a single play from a collection. However, as I hope the results have shown, the network of associations that is present in Cervantes's writings means that a study that a first glance appears to be not only of single genre, but of one example of that genre, can also cut across generic lines. Drilling down into one work, sooner or later one penetrates the various strata that make up his creative world. One does not need to look very far to find, in *La entretenida*, connections, either of a microcosmic or macrocosmic nature, with all of his major works and all the periods of his writing: the poem from *Galatea*, reworked as a sonnet for Don Antonio (*LE*: ll. 539-52); Cristina the kitchen-maid, who invites comparisons not only with her namesake in *La guarda cuidadosa* but also with Constanza in *La ilustre fregona*; Torrente's malapropostic 'cebollinas martas' (*LE*: ll. 2673-74), which recalls similar errors by Sancho Panza (*DQ* II. 14: 805 & II. 53: 1163); or the reference to the pilgrimage of the seven churches (*LE*: ll. 843-46) that puts one in mind of a similar journey undertaken by the heroes of *Persiles y Sigismunda* (*PS* IV. 6: 663).

The process of drilling down began with translation, and I hope, therefore, that this study argues for more translations of Cervantes, who, at the time of writing, is still a remarkably untranslated author. There is, for example, no modern English translation of *Galatea*, just one of *Persiles* (Cervantes 1989), which was only recently brought back into print, and very few of any of the plays.[1] This lack of translation, because it restricts the opportunities for productions of the plays in a non-Hispanic context, contributes to the continuing misunderstanding of Cervantes as a dramatist, for it is only through live performance that his theatre can be fully understood.

What began with translation has led to research in a number of different areas, including Roman comedy, the *commedia dell'arte*, memory, literary theory, the social

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[1] The only modern translations into English of Cervantes's works for the stage that I have been able to find are Dawn Smith's translation of the *Entremeses* (Cervantes 1996), sadly out of print at the time of writing, Fuchs and Ilika's translation of *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran sultana* (Cervantes 2010) and Osment's translation of *Pedro de Urdemalas* (Cervantes 2004).

context of Cervantes's work, printing in the Early Modern period and digital humanities. The picture of Cervantes that has emerged from this wide-ranging research is that of a man whose natural inclination towards improvised storytelling was further encouraged by the circumstances of his life. He carried his stories in his head, linked in his memory via a network of literary associations, involving both his own writings and those of others. Although there is a no record of the contents of his library, it can be partly reconstructed, either on the basis of the direct references that he makes to specific works, such as in the book-burning episode described in Chapter 6 of the first part of the *Quijote*, or because of those passages in his works, such as the *Celestina*-inspired scene at the beginning of Act II of *La entretenida*, where, although a book is not actually mentioned, there can be no doubt as to the one to which he is referring.

McKenzie's observation about authorial presence—'greatest in speech, still implied by script, least of all in print' (2002: 247)—is particularly relevant to Cervantes, who, although clearly an avid reader, was nevertheless, like many of his contemporaries, including Lope and Marston (see p. 116), mistrustful of the medium of print, and who preferred the intimacy of the spoken and written word. It is difficult, therefore, to accept Spadaccini and Talens's assertion that Cervantes, unlike Lope, refused to submit his plays to 'the demands of the marketplace and the exigencies of an undiscriminating audience', and that 'he opts to publish his works instead of turning them over to theatrical producers' (1993: 52). On the contrary, what he writes in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* shows that going to print was a consequence of the lack of interest in his plays shown by *autores* rather than a preferred option. His primary aim was to have his plays performed, and to experience once more the pleasure, described by his alter ego Pancracio in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*, of seeing the crowds of happy spectators streaming out of the theatre, while he stood at the door receiving their congratulations (see p. 51). However, in the face of the indifferent attitude of those actor-managers he committed his plays to the storage container of the book as part of a late drive to save as much of his work as possible for posterity. That final extraordinary flurry of activity led to the completion, in the last three years of his life, when he was in his mid-sixties, of five major works (*Novelas ejemplares*, *Viaje del Parnaso*, *Ocho comedias*, the second part of *Don Quijote*, and *Persiles y Sigismunda*), and also involved work on at least two other projects (*Semanas del jardin* and the second part of *Galatea*) that were never realized.

The plays survive through the medium of the printed book, which had the advantage, as Cervantes also tells us in the *Adjunta,* of allowing one to appreciate what sometimes passes unnoticed in performance. However, one should be careful of drawing the conclusion that he therefore *preferred* his plays to be read. For Cervantes the acts of reading and performing (or speaking) are complementary rather than competitive. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of Cervantes's genius is his ability to convey, through the printed word, the sense of intimacy and immediacy that one associates with speech. In *Ocho comedias* the words force themselves off the page and onto the stage, and Cervantes invites his readers to create in their imagination the act of performance. The ironic subtitle 'nunca representados' might therefore be viewed as an attempt to attract the interest of an *autor* of some subsequent generation, who might be looking for new material to perform, as well as a statement about the plays' lack of commercial success.

The different kinds of research that have been carried out in this project, whether they have involved the story of the production of the book in which *La entretenida* is contained, the interpretation of the play, its translation and performance, or the attempt to find new ways of representing the text using digital resources, have all touched on this key issue of the tension between speech and print, a tension that is reflected in other themes that have been central to the research: for example, the relationship between improvisation and script or between individual memory and external storage devices. These various themes are expressions of a bigger, overarching question that is posed time and again in Cervantes's writings: to what extent is the individual's desire for self-determination delimited by the controls imposed on it by society? The printed volume of *Ocho comedias* is symptomatic of the extent to which Cervantes had to subject himself to those controls, both of the state, and its machinery of censorship, and of the the printing house, which had its own rules and regulations that governed the text. Moreover, the fact that the plays remained unperformed in his lifetime demonstrates his failure to circumvent the system of control exerted by the *autores* on the kind of theatre the public were allowed to see. However, the printed book, one of the mechanisms of control, was also, paradoxically, the means of ensuring that Cervantes's maverick vision of the theatre did survive. The research carried out here, and the digital edition that has resulted from it, encourage the reader and end-user not only to *see* the play from a

number of different perspectives, but also to *hear* the sound of the text, and therefore seek to contribute to the process of giving this theatre a voice.

APPENDIX 1

Gatherings, Sheets, Formes and Folios

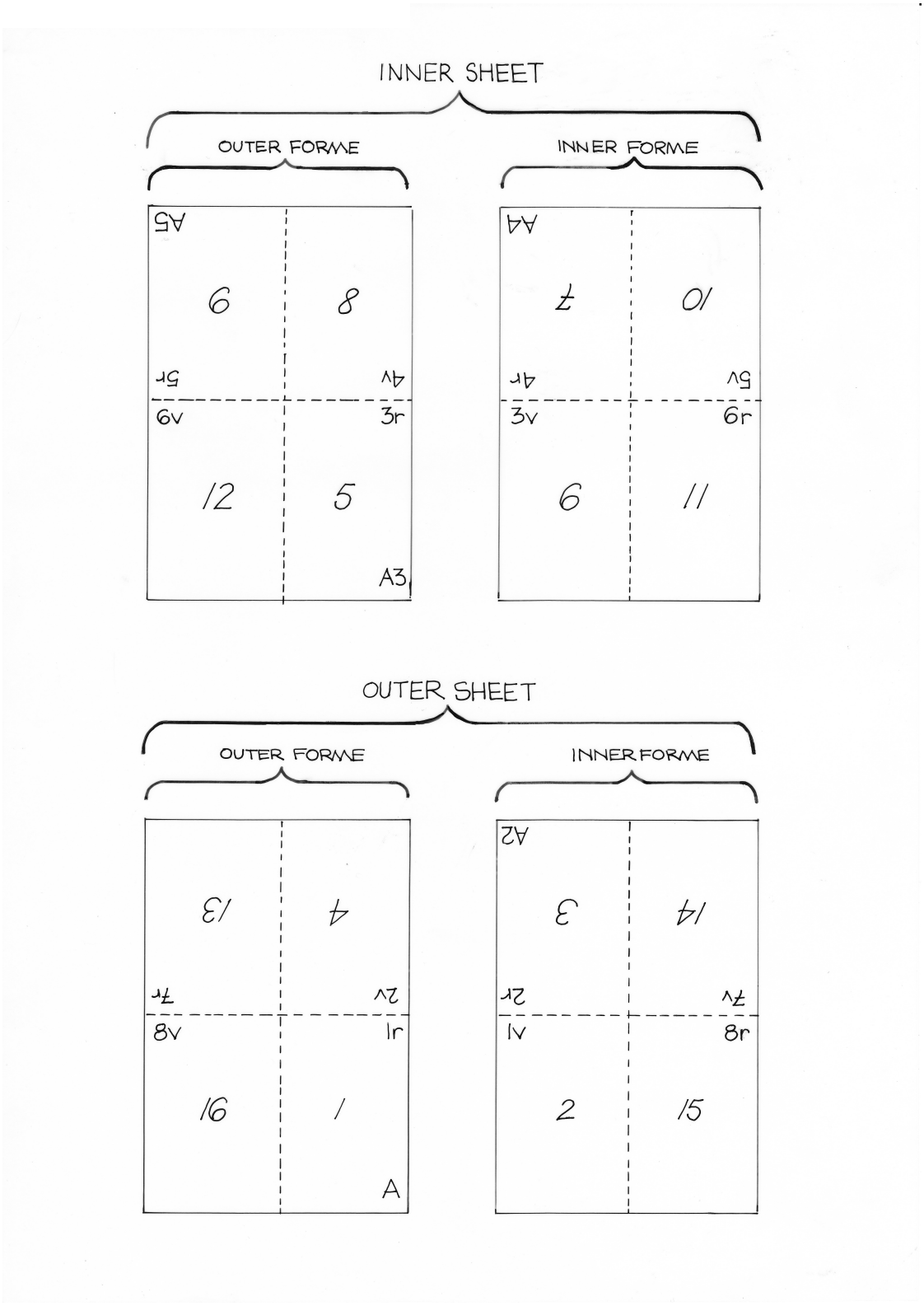

Fig. 15: *The sheets and formes that make up a gathering*[1]

[1] My thanks to Alison Payne for this and the following diagram.

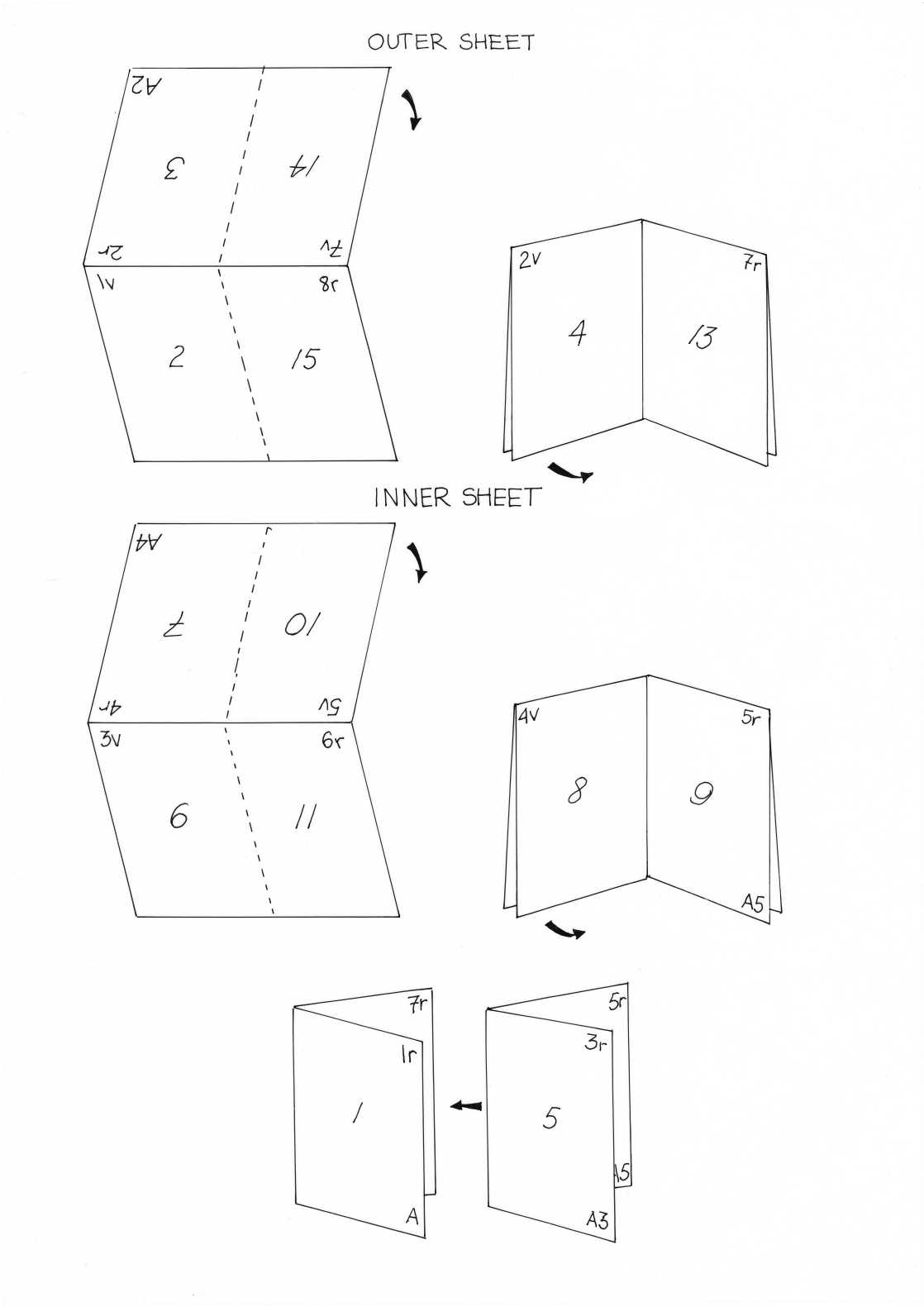

Fig. 16: *How a gathering is made*

Table 1: The printing of *La entretenida*: relationship of gatherings, sheets, formes and folios

Gathering	Sheet	Forme	Folios	Play, Act & Lines
X	Inner	Inner	163v, 164, 165v, 166	*El Laberinto de amor* (*LA*) III: 2584-2727, 2806-70
X	Inner	Outer	163, 164v, 165, 166v	*LA* III: 2525-83. 2728-2805, 2871-2901
X	Outer	Inner	161v, 162, 167v, 168	*LA* III: 2302-2447, 2949-3078
X	Outer	Outer	161, 162v, 167, 168v	*LA* III: 2238-2301, 2448-2524, 2902-48 *La entretenida* (*LE*) Title; Cast; I: 1-12
Y	Inner	Inner	171v, 172, 173v, 174	*LE* I: 355-504, 621-763
Y	Inner	Outer	171, 172v, 173, 174v	*LE* I: 279-354, 505-620, 764-825
Y	Outer	Inner	169v, 170, 175v, 176	*LE* I: 91-229, 866-942
Y	Outer	Outer	169, 170v, 175, 176v	*LE* I: 13-90, 230-78, 826-65, 943-71
Z	Inner	Inner	179v, 180, 181v, 182	*LE* II: 1281-1348, 1521-1633
Z	Inner	Outer	179, 180v, 181, 182v	*LE* II: 1221-80, 1349-1520, 1634-1700
Z	Outer	Inner	177v, 178, 183v, 184	*LE* II: 1032-1175, III, 1775-1860
Z	Outer	Outer	177, 178v, 183, 184v	*LE* II: 972-1031, 1176-1220, 1701-74, III: 1861-1906
Aa	Inner	Inner	187v, 188, 189v, 190	*LE* III: 2139-2246, 2345-2497
Aa	Inner	Outer	187, 188v, 189, 190v	*LE* III: 2065-2138, 2247-2344, 2498-2543
Aa	Outer	Inner	185v, 186, 191v, 192	*LE* III, 1951-2023, 2591-2732
Aa	Outer	Outer	185, 186v, 191, 192v	*LE* III, 1907-50, 2024-64, 2544-90, 2733-2807
Bb	Inner	Inner	195v, 196, 197v, 198	*Pedro de Urdemalas* (*PU*) Title; Cast; I: 1-84, 194-302
Bb	Inner	Outer	195, 196v, 197, 198v	*LE* III: 3059-87 *PU* I: 85-193, 303-42
Bb	Outer	Inner	193v, 194, 199v, 200	*LE* III: 2851-2978 *PU* I: 377-453
Bb	Outer	Outer	193, 194v, 199, 200v	*LE* III: 2808-50, 2979-3058 *PU* I: 343-76, 454-509

APPENDIX 2

Versification in *La entretenida*

In a letter to a friend dated 14th August 1604, Lope, referring to poets, wrote that 'ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes' (Vega 1985: 68). Modern criticism, while not going to those extremes, has tended to be united in its lack of enthusiasm for Cervantes's poetry. McKendrick, for example, states that it is an 'undisputed fact' that 'Cervantes, unlike Lope, was neither a great poet nor a great dramatic craftsman' (2002: 135). What Cervantes himself writes on the subject, in *Viaje del Parnaso*, is more equivocal:

> Yo, que siempre trabajo y me desvelo
> Por parecer que tengo de poeta
> La gracia que no quiso darme el Cielo (*VP* I: 217, ll. 25-27)

The statement is a typically ambiguous one. What at first blush seems like a confession of his own lack of skill is open to another interpretation: while Cervantes may lack *natural* talent as a poet, he has succeeded in making himself into a good one through hard work.

Opinions about poetic ability are as subjective as opinions about music. However, an objective analysis of the versification of *Ocho comedias* shows that Cervantes put a great deal of thought into versification, selecting form to suit the mood of the play. In *La entretenida*, for example, the extraordinarily high proportion of *redondillas*—61%, as compared with 38% in *Ocho comedias* as a whole (see Charts 1 and 2, p. 215)—can be explained by the fact that this fast-flowing, 'everyday' verse form is particularly well suited for a play in which, as Flecniakoska's analysis shows (see p. 84), 66% of the lines are spoken by servants. In *El laberinto del amor,* on the other hand, the high percentage of Italianate verse forms—42% of the lines as compared with 21% in *Ocho comedias* (see Charts 4, 6 and 8, pp. 216-17)—is particularly appropriate for a tale of courtly love set in Italy.

Cervantes is equally skillful at adapting the verse form to suit a particular character or scene. Thus, the ponderous *cuarteto-lira*, a non-rhyming quatrain consisting of three heptasyllables followed by an hendecasyllable, is chosen for the

scene at the beginning of Act III (see p. 208, Table 2, ll. 1875-2056), in which the boorish Don Francisco keeps Don Antonio on tenterhooks, waiting to find out what good news his friend has to tell him, while the arrival of Don Silvestre, the New World cousin, after the servants' interlude, is heralded by the use of *tercetos* for the first and only time in the play (Table 2, ll. 2528-49).

Cervantes uses fifteen different verse forms in *Ocho comedias*, and ten in *La entretenida*. By way of comparison, Lope, in *El perro del hortelano*, uses only seven (see Chart 3, p. 216).[1] Moreover, 1108 lines in *El perro*—33% of the total, compared with 15% in *La entretenida* and 8% in *Ocho comedias*—are in the *romance* form, which, because it rhymes in assonance, is less demanding for the poet. A similarly high percentage of the *romance* is found in other plays by Lope (*El caballero de Olmedo* 36%, *El castigo sin venganza* 44%, *Fuente Ovejuna* 27%, *Peribañez* 24%).[2] Since the *romance* is particularly well-suited to narrative passages, the frequency with which it occurs in plays by Lope, compared with those of Cervantes, may reflect the relative importance the two dramatists ascribed to plot, as opposed to form.

It is interesting to note that the incidence of Italianate and Spanish verse forms in *La entretenida* and *El perro del hortelano* is identical (see Charts 5 and 7, p. 217). That statistic, which may surprise those who regard Lope's drama as more modern, is further evidence that the two playwrights had more in common than is generally thought. In any case, the various tables and charts show that Cervantes may not have been quite such a bad poet as his rival once suggested.

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[1] Chart 3 is based on the analysis in Dixon's edition (1981: 55-56).

[2] The calculations are based on the analyses in the editions of Rico (Vega 1981a: 88-90), Carreño (Vega 1998: 79-81), McGrady (Vega 1993: 39-41) and Marin (Vega 1979: 46-47) respectively.

Table 2: Line-by-line analysis of verse forms in *La entretenida*

Act	Lines	Verse Form
I	1-244	*Redondillas*
I	245-58	*Soneto*
I	259-370	*Redondillas*
I	371-494	*Romance* (*a-e*)
I	495-538	*Redondillas*
I	539-52	*Soneto*
I	553-76	*Redondillas*
I	577-84	*Octava Real* (abcabcdd)
I	585-823	*Redondillas*
I	824-971	*Sueltos* (*endecasílabos*)
II	972-95	*Redondillas*
II	996-1063	*Romancillo* (*e-o*)
II	1064-1167	*Redondillas*
II	1168-71	*Soneto* (ll. 1-4)
II	1172-75	*Redondillas*
II	1176-79	*Soneto* (ll. 5-8)
II	1180-83	*Redondillas*
II	1184-86	*Soneto* (ll. 9-11)
II	1187-90	*Redondillas*
II	1191-93	*Soneto* (ll. 12-14)
II	1194-96	*Soneto* (*estrambote*)
II	1197-1268	*Redondillas*
II	1269-85	*Soneto* (with *estrambote*)
II	1286-1469	*Redondillas*
II	1470-1529	*Cuarteto-lira*
II	1530-61	*Octava Real* (abababcc)
II	1562-81	*Copla real* (ababa ccddc)
II	1582-91	*Copla real* (abbab ccddc)
II	1592-1601	*Copla real* (ababa ccddc)
II	1602-06	*Quintilla* (ababa)
II	1607-1802	*Redondillas*
II	1803-16	*Soneto*
III	1817-30	*Soneto*
III	1831-74	*Redondillas*
III	1875-2056	*Cuarteto-lira*
III	2057-2208	*Redondillas*
III	2209-2223	*Quintillas* (abbab)
III	2224-28	*Quintilla* (aabba)
III	2229-94	*Sueltos* (*endecasílabos*)
III	2295-2306	*Song* (*romance*)
III	2307-18	*Romance* (*e-o*)
III	2319-22	*Song* (*seguidilla*)
III	2323-26	*Romance* (*e-o*)
III	2327-35	*Song* (*seguidilla*)
III	2336-43	*Romance* (*e-o*)
III	2344-52	*Song* (*seguidilla*)
III	2353-62	*Romance* (*e-o*)
III	2363-71	*Song* (*seguidilla*)
III	2372-2527	*Romance* (*e-o*)
III	2528-49	*Tercetos*
III	2550-2609	*Redondillas*
III	2610-75	*Romance* (*i-a*)
III	2676-2815	*Redondillas*
III	2816-63	*Cuarteto-lira*
III	2864-3087	*Redondillas*

Table 3: Total number of lines of each verse form used in *Ocho comedias*[3]

(*GE = El gallardo español*; *CC = La casa de los celos*; *BA = Los baños de Argel*; *RD = El rufián dichoso*; *GS = La gran sultana*; *LA = El Laberinto de amor*; *LE = La entretenida*; *PU = Pedro de Urdemalas*)

	GE	***CC***	***BA***	***RD***	***GS***	***LA***	***LE***	***PU***	**Total**
Canción		130	52			90			272
Copla real	1520	250	1879	490	729		40	1570	6478
Cuarteto-lira			156	40	92		290		578
Miscellaneous			13	3					16
Octava real	264	390	160	96	96	510	40	63	1619
Quintillas	10	5	100	25	40		25	25	230
Pareados								2	2
Pie quebrado								72	72
Redondillas	500	1275	396	1416	1144	1712	1875	836	9154
Romance	451	80	100	158	444	84	380	328	2025
Romancillo							68		68
Serventesio		4							4
Sexteto-lira	48	222				306		60	636
Songs		70	42	64	40		43	81	340
Sonnets		28			14	14	90		146
Sueltos	237	151	173	382	313	120	214	112	1702
Tercetos	104	151	22	172	49	242	22	31	793
Total	3134	2756	3093	2846	2961	3078	3087	3180	24135

[3] While not verse forms in themselves, songs have been included for reference purposes.

Chart 1: Distribution of verse forms in *La entretenida*

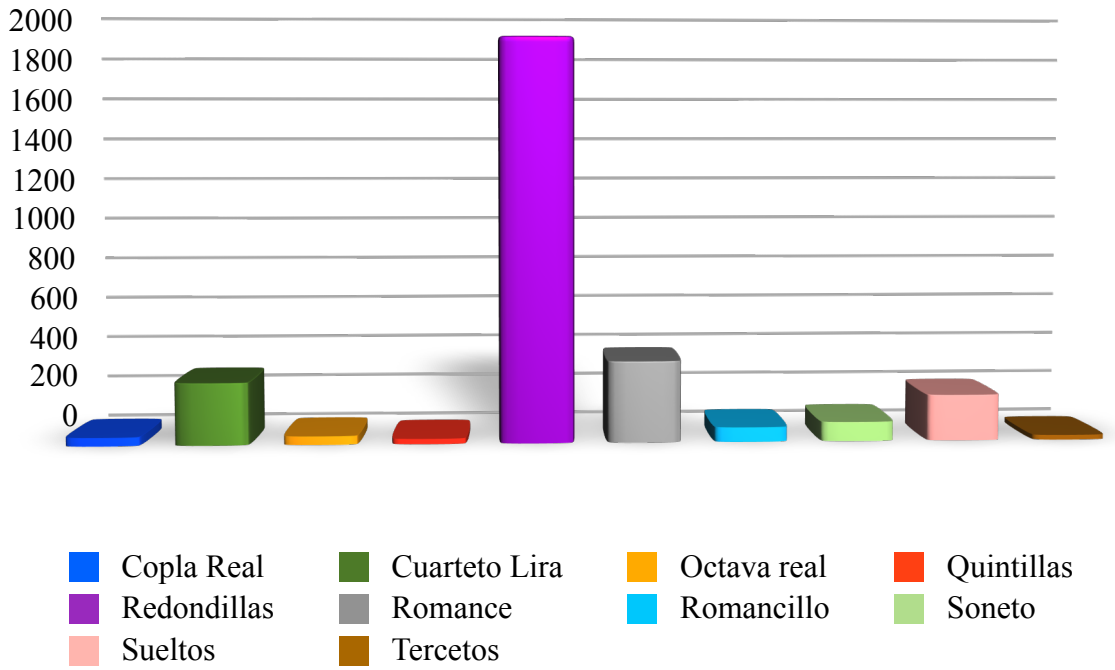
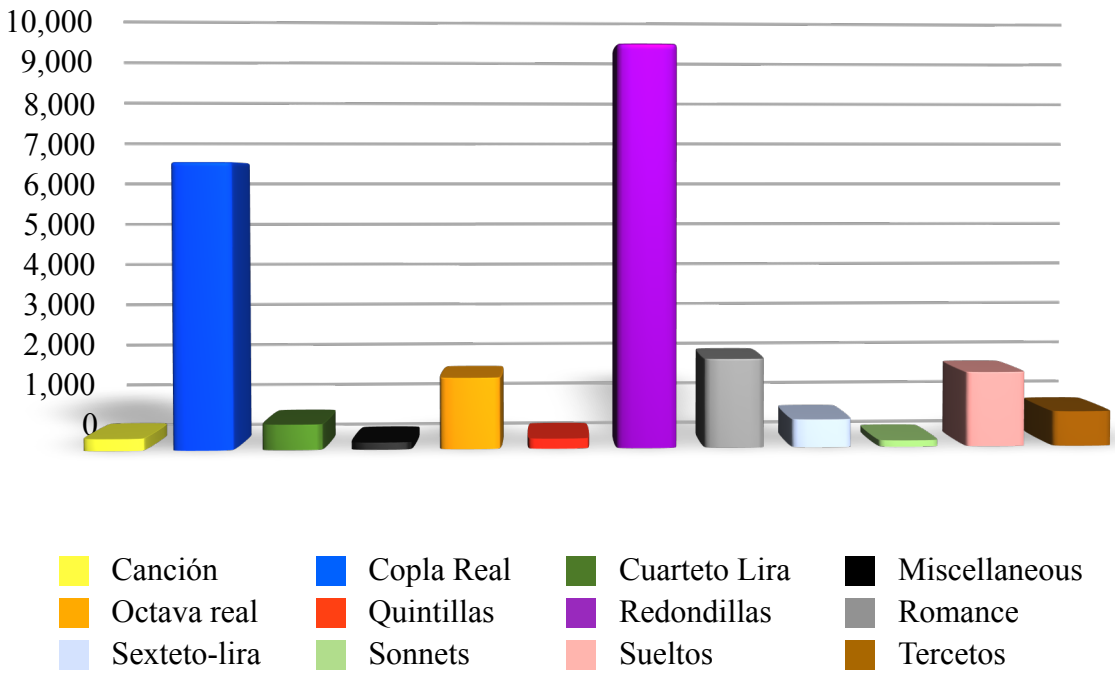


Chart 2: Distribution of verse forms in *Ocho comedias*[4]



[4] Verse forms that only occur in one play, and of which there are less than a hundred lines, such as *Romancillo* (*LE*: ll. 996-1063) and *Pie Quebrado* (*PU*: 1318-49 and 1355-94) are included under 'Miscellaneous'.

Chart 3: Distribution of verse forms in *El perro del hortelano*

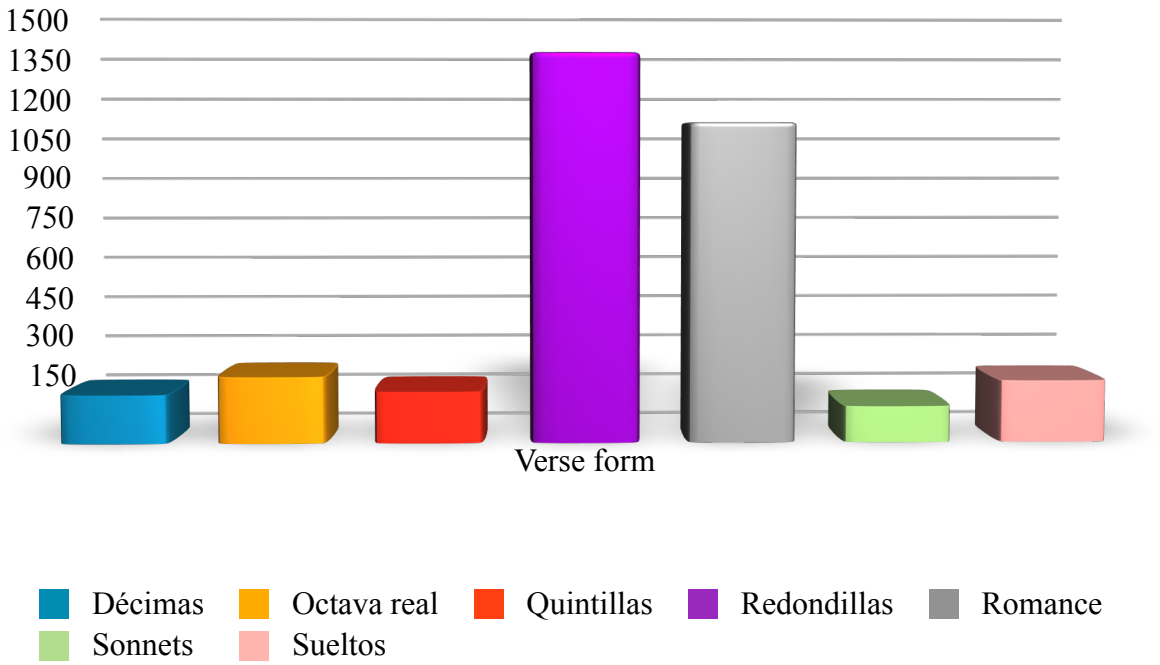
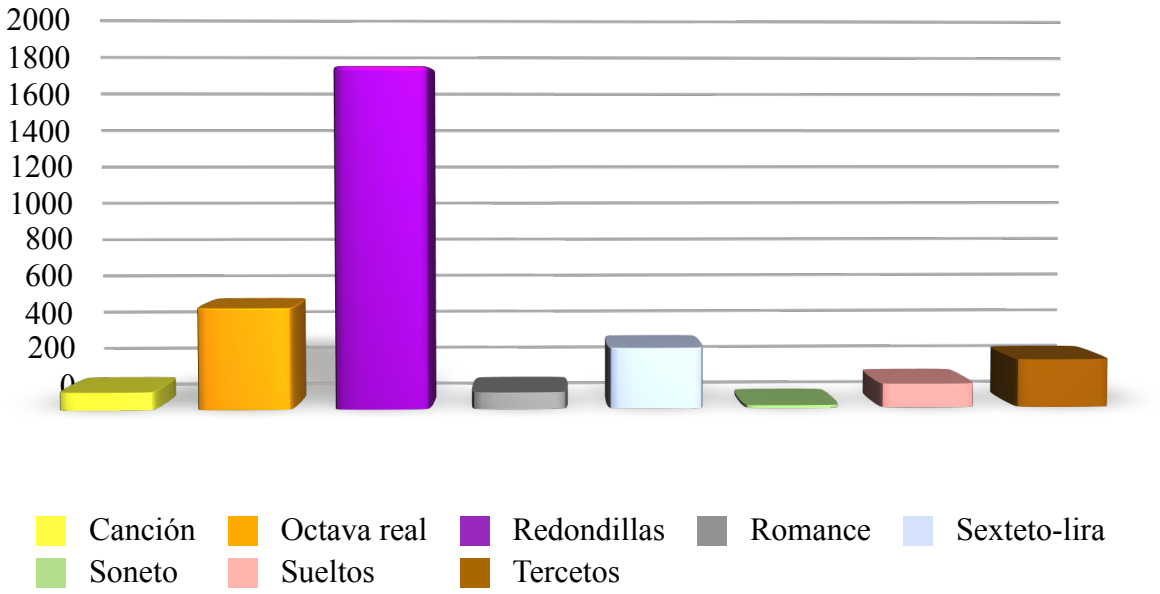
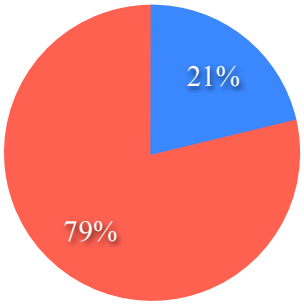


Chart 4: Distribution of verse forms in *El laberinto de amor*

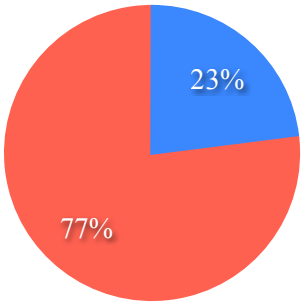


Charts 5-8: Distribution of Italianate and Spanish verse forms

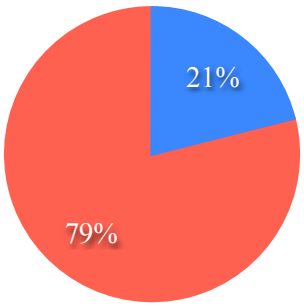
5. *La entretenida*



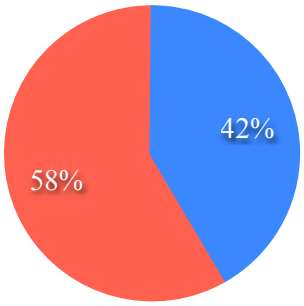
6. *Ocho comedias*



7. *El perro del hortelano*



8. *El laberinto de amor*



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